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MEDIEVAL INDIA

a miscellany

volume four

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY**

MEDIEVAL INDIA—A MISCELLANY
Volume Four

Centre of Advanced Study
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

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MEDIEVAL INDIA

A MISCELLANY

VOLUME FOUR

*Centre of Advanced Study
Department of History
Aligarh Muslim University*



ASIA PUBLISHING HOUSE
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MEDIEVAL INDIA—A MISCELLANY
VOLUME FOUR

ORGANISATION OF ISLĀMIC LEARNING UNDER THE SAIYIDS AND LODĪS

M. ZAKI

EDUCATION has always been regarded a religious pursuit by the Muslims. Long before the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi, they had developed their educational system and had made considerable advance in various branches of science and learning. After the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi, a number of cultural and educational centres sprang up in India. Most of the Sultāns were well educated and some of them were accomplished scholars. Under their patronage, Delhi and later the provincial capitals took their place with the other great centres of the Islamic learning.¹ Foreign scholars continuously visited India, many of them settled here, delivered lectures; and in turn the Muslim scholars of India paid visits to the Islamic centres outside India, studied there and sometimes won recognition there. The chief works of the foreign scholars soon found their way into the Indian literary circles, and many works produced by the Indian scholars were warmly received by the foreign scholars. In the following pages we present a brief account of the types of institutions, method of teaching and syllabi used in the propagation of Islamic learning during the last phase of the Delhi Sultanate (15th century).

TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS : *Mosques, Colleges, and Khāngāhs*

It has been regarded as a religious duty of every Muslim to learn at least some portion of the Qur'ān and the basic tenets of Islam. The earliest centre to provide this knowledge was the mosque. Even at present we may find in almost all the mosques a teacher (maulawī) imparting primary education to the children. Usually a small portion of the mosque is reserved for this purpose.

Besides these mosque schools, separate colleges were also built by the Sultāns who created endowments for their maintenance. In Delhi alone there were one thousand schools during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.² Firoz Shāh alone built about thirty colleges,³ the most famous being the Madrasa-i-Firoz Shāhī near the Hauz-i-

1 See Barani, *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhī*, ed. Sir Syed Ahmād Khān, Calcutta, 1862, 352.

2 See Shihābu'ddīn al 'Umar, *Masālik-ul Absār*, Eng. tr. Otto Spies (Aligarh), 24.

3 Nizāmu'ddīn Ahmād Bakhshī, *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, i/121.

Khāṣ in Delhi,¹ and repaired the old ones.² Similarly Sulṭān Sikandar Lodi,³ sanctioned liberal grants for their maintenance.

Besides these schools and colleges the houses of many learned scholars served as centres of diffusion of knowledge. Lastly, we may mention the Khāngāhs which were the centres of learning also. Here formal education was not imparted. But the eminent saint (the Shaikh) after completing the study of formal sciences usually settled down and trained his disciples in mysticism. Special attention was here paid to the spiritual training, the reading of the Qur'ān, and the books on mysticism.

STAGES :

Primary and Higher Education

The primary education of a child usually started with the ceremony known as *Tasmiya-Khwāni* or *Maktab* ceremony. When the child completed the age of four years, four months and four days he was brought before an 'Ālim or a pious saint. The teacher wrote *Bismi'llāh* on a piece of wood and the child was made to recite it along with some other verses from the Qur'ān. Then sweets were distributed and formal education started under a teacher.⁴

The child was taught the Qur'ān, without explaining its meaning (called *Nāzira*).⁵ Some of the more adept pupils completed the reading of the Qur'ān within two years while others even memorised it at a very tender age.⁶

1 See Barani, 564. Maulānā Jalā'u'ddīn Rūmī, a great scholar and well versed in various branches of knowledge, was the head of this institution. Muṭahhar has given a graphic account of the madrasa and its garden, etc. See *Dīwān-i Muṭahhar*, published in *Oriental College Magazine*, May 1935, pp. 136-138.

2 See *Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhī* (ed. Sh. A. Rashid, Aligarh, 1954). 13.

3 *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, i/121.

4 See 'Abdu'r Rahmān, *Maulūd-i Hazrat' Imām Mahdī Mau'ūd*, Hyderabad, 1368 H, 18; Nūr-u'l Haq, *Zubdat-u't Tawārikh*, (Rotograph), 300b-310a. How Humāyūn underwent this ceremony is described thus: When Humāyūn was four years, four months and four days old, a ceremony was gone through for celebrating the occasion of his being first put under tutors. The child Sulṭān was seated in the school-house and formally made over to the care of the tutors. See *Tazkirat-u's Salāṭin*, i/602 (Ranking); Firishta, ii/178-80, and *Shāh Jahān Nāma*, MS. in ASB f. 45 (cited in *Law, Promotion of Learning in India During the Muhammadan Rule*, London, 1916, 128).

5 Those who specialised in the science of reciting the Qur'ān were known as Muqrīs. Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyyā' had learned the Qur'ān from Shadī Muqrī at Badā'ūn. See Hasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād*, Nawal Kishore, 1312 H, 154.

6 Shaikh Kamālu'ddīn of Kālpī (d. 987 H) started reading the Qur'ān at the age of five years and finished it within two years. See Muḥammad Ghāusi, *Gulzār-i Abrār* 197b. Saiyid Muḥammad Mahdī is reported to have committed the Qur'ān to his memory at the age of seven years. See *Maulūd*, 20.

After such primary education, the student probably learned Persian, the official language. The books prescribed for the course are not known, but certain standard works are mentioned which were widely studied—for instance, the *Gulistān*, *Bostān*, and *Sikandar Nāma*.¹

There seem to have been two stages in the *theological* studies, the completion of one entitled the student to the degree of *Maulawī* or *Dānišmand* and the other was of higher learning.² The course of the former included the study of *ṣarf* (Arabic declension and conjugation), *Nahw* (grammar and syntax), *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), and *Uṣūl-i Fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence). This course was so simple and easy that it could be completed even within six months, after which the student could become entitled to teach others.³

The higher course included the study of *Tafsīr* (exegesis of the Qur'ān) *Hadīs* (traditions of the Prophet), *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), *Uṣūl-i Fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence), *Kalām* (scholasticism), *Maniq* (logic) and *Adab* (Arabic literature).

There seem to have been no prescribed books for each course in the modern sense, but certain standard and widely read books are mentioned.

The popular book on *Ṣarf* was the *Mizān*.⁴ Maulānā Fakhru'ddīn Zarrādī had also prepared a book on *Surf* for the use of Shaikh 'Uṣmān Sirāj which was known as '*Uṣmānī*.⁵

- 1 The *Tārikh-i Dā'uḍī* (106) says that Sher Khān (Sher Shāh) had studied the *Kāfiya* along with *Gulistān* and *Bostān* of Shaikh Sa'dī and *Sikandar Nāma* of Niẓāmī Ganjwī which in those days were commonly studied by the Indians. His son Islām Shāh who took keen interest in Persian poetry, is reported to have memorised *Gulistān* and *Bostān* and could quote appropriate couplets from the *Diwān* of Ḥāfiẓ as well. See 'Abdu'l-lāh, *Tārikh-i Dā'uḍī* (Ed. Prof. S.A. Rashid, Aligarh (1954), 106; and Ni'matu'llāh, *Tārikh-i-Khān Jahānī wa Makhzan-i Afghānī*, (Ed. Imāmu'ddīn, Dacca 1960), 376-77.
- 2 It is difficult to define the exact nature of this course. Maulānā Gilānī calls it the course of *Fażl* and has based his conclusion on the following remark in Mīr Khurd's *Siyar-u'l Auliyā'* (Delhi 1302 H, p. 101, See *Hindustān men Musalmānon Kā Niẓām-i-Tā'lim-o Tarbiyat*, Delhi 1944, Vol. I/136).

[After completing the course of *Fiqh* and -*Uṣūl-i Fiqh*, he started the course of *Fażl*]. Ghausī Shattārī also vaguely refers to this term in the account of Shaikh Ilāhdād and says that under his able guidance a number of students qualified for *Fażilat* (which literally means perfection, excellence, high degree) and *Maulawīyat*. But the evidence does not seem to be conclusive in this respect.

- 3 Because Shaikh 'Uṣmān Sirāj completed this course within six months. *Siyar-u'l Auliyā'*, 288; Sh. 'Abdu'l Ḥāq, *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār* (Muhammadī Press 1283 H), 85.
- 4 Shaikh 'Abdu'l Quddūs says that it was taught to Shaikh Aḥmad 'Abdu'l Ḥāq at Delhi. See *Anwār-u'l 'Uyūn*, 13, and *Siyar-u'l Auliyā'*, 289. Sultān Sikandar Lodi had requested Shaikh Samā'u'ddīn to teach him this book. See, Aḥmad Yādgār, *Tārikh-i Shāhī*, (ed. M. Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, 1939), 34; *Tārikh-i-Khān Jahānī*, 218-19.
- 5 See *Siyar-u'l Auliyā'*, 289. According to Maulānā Gilānī (op. cit, i/138) the present Zarrādī (taught in the schools) is probably the 'Uṣmānī of Maulānā Zarrādī.

*Kāfiya*¹ and *Mufassal*² were the common books on *Nahw*. Muhammād *Ghausī* mentions two more books, *Lubb* and *Irshād*.³

The important textbooks on *fiqh* included *Qudūrī* and *Majm‘a-u'l Bahrain*, later *Sharh-i Waqāya* became more popular.⁴

The standard books on *fiqh* for higher studies were *Hidāya*⁵ and *Kanz-u'd Daqā'i q.*⁶ The main books on *Uṣūl-i Fiqh* were *Bazdawī*,⁷ *Shāhi*, *Al-Mannār al-Nasafi*, by Hāfiẓu'ddīn Abu'l Barakāt al-Nasafī (d. 1301), *Huṣāmī*,⁸ and *Tahqīq*⁹ (a commentary on *Huṣāmī*).

The standard books on *Tafsīr* included the famous *Kashshāf*,¹⁰ *I'jāz*,¹¹ *Umda*,¹¹ *Anwār-u't Tanzīl wa Asrār-u't Ta'wil* of 'Abdu'llāh bin 'Umar

1 It was written by Shaikh Jamālu'ddīn, commonly known as Ibn-u'l Hājib (d. 1248).
 2 *Kāfiya* was generally studied along with the notes of Qazī Shihābu'ddīn. For references to *Kāfiya* and *Mufassal*, see *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 85; Sh. Ruknu'ddīn, *Laṭā'iṣ-i Quddūsī* (Delhi 1311 H.), 6; 'Abbās Khān, *Tārikh-i Sher Shāhi* or *Tuhfa-i Akbar Shāhi*, (MS. copy) f. 8; *Tārikh-i Shāhi*, 173; *Tārikh-i Dā'udi*, 107; *Tārikh-i Khan-i Jahāni*, 264; Shaikh Ilāhdād (popularly known as Allāhdiya) of Jāünpur had written a commentary on *Kāfiya*, see *Gulzār-i Abrār*, 317a; *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 188, 272; Ranking, i/324.

Another commentary was written by Shaikh Sa'du'ddīn. *Akhbār-ul Akhyār*, 185. The *Kāfiya* is included in the present course while the *Mufassal* has been replaced by *Sharh Mulla Jāmi*; see Maulānā Gilānī, i/138.

3 Shaikh 'Abdu'llāh Sūfī Shattārī is reported to have studied these books along with *Kāfiya*. See *Gulzār-i Abrār*, 292a.

4 See *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, 289. *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 85, *Qudūrī* is still included in the course while *Majmā'u'l Bahrain*, edited by Ibn Sa'atī, had long been replaced by *Sharh Waqāya*. See Maulānā Gilānī, Vol. I, 138-39. For a reference to *Sharh Waqāya*, see Badā'ūnī, Vol. III, 84-151.

5 The celebrated Hanafī text on jurisprudence compiled by Maulānā Burhānu'ddīn Marghīnānī (d. 1197). There are abundant references to it being taught in India. See, for instance, *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, 207; Sh. Jamālī, *Siyar-u'l 'Arifin* (Delhi, 1310 H.), 92; *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 87, 241; *Gulzār-i Abrār*, 203b, 204a, 292a, etc.

6 For reference to it, see, *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 140, where Maulānā Mu'inu'ddīn 'Imrānī (contemporary of Muhammād bin Tughluq) is stated to have written a commentary on it. Badā'ūnī had also learned a portion of it from Miyān Hātim of Sambhal, see *Muntakhab-u't Tawārikh*, Vol. 333, 3. Haig (iii/4n2) identifies it with *Kanz-u'd-Daqāiq fi Furū'-il Hanafyya* by Shaikh ul Imam Abu'l Barakāt 'Abdullāh bin Alīmad known as Hāfiẓ Nasafī.

7 It was written by 'Alī bin Muhammād al-Bazdawī (d. 1006). For references to this book see *Siyar-u'l 'Arifin*, 92; *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 87; *Gulzār-i Abrār*, 292a.

8 See *Laṭā'iṣ-i Quddūsī*, 8.

9 Mulla 'Abdu'l Qadir Badā'ūnī had studied it before Shaikh 'Abdullāh Badā'ūnī. *Muntakhab-u't Tawārikh*, iii, 56.

10 It was written by the celebrated Mu'tazili scholar, Zamakhsharī (1075-1143). Curiously enough it was very popular among the Sunnis and was widely studied in India. References to it may be found in *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, 317. Hasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād*, (Nawāl Kishore, 1312 H.), 108; and *Akhbār-ul Akhyār*, 91.

11 *Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād*, 109.

Baizāwī (ob. 1316) known as *Tafsir-i Baizāwi*,¹ *M‘ālim-u’t Tanzil*,² *Tafsīr-i Madārik*,³ and *Arāi’s-u'l Bayān*.⁴ Several commentaries compiled by Indian scholars might also have been studied, for instance, the *Tafsīr-i Nishāpūri*,⁵ *Tafsīr-i Rahmāni*, *Tafsīr Bah̄r-i Mawwāj*, *Tafsīr-i Nūr-u'n-Nabi*⁶ and *Tafsīr-i Tātār Khāni*.⁷

The most popular book on the *Hadīs* was the *Mashāriq-u'l Anwār*, an excellent collection made by Maulānā Razīu'ddīn Ḥasan Ṣaghānī (d. 650 H.) of Badā'ūn.⁸ Besides this, the celebrated *Al-jāmi‘-al Sahīh*, popularly known as *Bukhārī*, compiled by Muḥammad bin Ismā‘il of *Bukhārā* (810-870 A.D.),⁹ *Mishkāt-u'l Maṣābiḥ*¹⁰ by Abu Muḥammad Ḥasan bin Mas‘ūd bin Muḥammad al Farrā'-al Baghawī (d. 1122 A.D.), and *Shamā'il u'n Nabi*¹¹ of Abu ‘Īsā Muḥammad Tirmizi (ob. 892 A.D.), were also studied.

The course on Adab comprised the study of *Ma‘āni* (rhetoric and theory of literary style), *Bayān* (clearness of speech), *Badi‘* (beauty), *‘Urūz* (Prosody), *Quwāfi* (Syllables) and *Adab* (literature, learning), besides *Ṣarf* and *Nahw*. Very little is known about the books on these subjects except that Shaikh Niẓām’uddīn Auliyā' is reported to have studied and memorised forty lessons from the *Maqāmāt-i Ḥarīrī* on *Adab*.¹²

1 Several commentaries were written on it in India which shows that it was quite popular. See Ḥasan Muḥammad, *Mir'āt-i Ahmādī* (Bombay: 1306 H.) ii/49; and *Gulzār-i Abrār*, 175b.

2 Sultān Muẓaffar of Gujārāt (1511-1526) had studied some portion of it. Sikandar bin Muḥammad (Manjhū), *Mir'āt-i Sikandārī* (Ed. Prof. S.C. Misra & M.L. Rahman: Baroda: 1961), 205.

3 Maulānā Iīāhdād wrote a commentary on it. *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 188. It was written by ‘Abdullāh bin Ḥāfiẓu'ddīn-al-Nasafī (d. 1310).

4 For a reference to it see Badā'ūn, Vol. III, 10; Maulānā Gilānī, I, 142. It was written from mystic point of view by Shaikh Abu Muḥammad Rūzbihān ibn Abil Nāsir-al-Bāqili of Shirāz (d. 1209-10), see Haig, iii/17 n.1.

5 A major portion of it seems to have been written at Daulatābād (about 730 H.) by Niẓām Nishāpūri at the time when Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq is reported to have populated it. See Maulānā Gilānī Vol. I, 142; also Badā'ūn, III, 138.

6 Written by Khwāja Husain Nāgaurī, See *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 174.

7 Written under the patronage of Tātār Khān, a favourite noble of the early Tughluq Sultāns.

8 He had prepared a collection of 2,246 traditions based on the two most authentic works, *Bukhārī* and *Muslim*. Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā' had memorised it. See *Siyar-u'l Auliyā'*, 101.

9 See *Mir'āt-i Sikandārī*, 372-373; see also Badā'ūn, III, 154, where it is mentioned that a special function was held when the whole work was finished.

10 See *Gulzār-i Abrār*, 204a; Badā'ūn, III, 154.

11 Badā'ūn, III, 154.

12 *Siyar-u'l Auliyā'*, 101.

*Miftāh-u'l 'Ulūm*¹ seems to have been a book on *Ma'āni*, *Bayān* and *Badi*. The commentary on *Miftāh* by *Muwazzini*² and *Mutawwal* of *Taftāzāni* were also read.³

Only two books on *Mantiq* (logic) and *Kalām* (scholasticism), namely, *Sharh-i Shamsiya* or (*Qutbī*) and *Sharh-i Sahā'i*⁴ respectively were regarded sufficient till the accession of Sultān Sikandar Lodī.⁴

Emphasis was laid mainly on the purely religious sciences while the study of rational sciences was generally discouraged⁵; but such sciences too were being studied. Sultān Sikandar Lodī for the first time encouraged the study of logic.⁶

1 It was written by Sirāju'ddīn Abu Yaqūb Yūsuf bin 'Alī bin Muḥammad Sikkākī (d. 1228). It was divided into three parts of which the first part treated of grammatical inflections, the second of syntax, and the third of arrangement and composition of sentences (*Ma'āni* and *Bayān*). A commentary on all the three parts was written by Maulana Ḥusāmu'ddīn al Muazzīn.

2 See *Bada'ūnī*, III, 66-67, 77; Ranking, i/428 and n. 3.

3 *Muṭawwal* was the commentary on *Talkhīs-ul Miftāh* by Sa'du'ddīn Taftāzānī (d. 792 H). After that the author wrote a second commentary, a summary of the former, and gave it the name of *Mukhtaṣar*. See Ranking, i/428 and n. 3.

4 Because *Bada'ūnī* explicitly mentions this; see *Muntakhab-u't Tawārikh*, Vol. I, 323-324.

Sharh-i Shamsiyā'h, most probably, was the commentary by Qutbu'ddīn Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Rāzī on the *Shamsiyā'h*, a famous treatise on logic composed by Najmu'ddīn 'Umar bin-al Qazwīnī (d. 1293 A.D.). The *Sharh-i-Sahā'i* was the famous commentary, ascribed to Samarqandi. See Ranking, i/2 427 n. 1.

According to Maulānā Gilānī (Vol. I, 145, 151) the *Quṭbi* (i.e. *Sharh Shamsiyā'h*) was a simple book on logic while *Sahā'i* was a small book on faith, having no connection with the complicated subject like metaphysics.

Bada'ūnī (vol. III, 67) mentions one more book on *Kalām*, i.e. *Sharh-i 'Aqā'i'd*, taught by Maulānā Ḥātim of Sambhal.

Gulzār-i Abrār (292a) mentions two more books on *Kalām*, *Sharh Muwāqif* and *Sharh Maqā'id*.

5 The view expressed in the *Fatāwai-i Tātār Khānī* is very significant. It is held that *'Ilm-i Kalām* (scholasticism) leads to spiritual anarchy and innovations in the religion. Those who have little wisdom take interest in it not to find out the truth but to defeat others in debates. See Maulānā Gilānī, I, 145.

6 During the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodī there arrived in Delhi two scholars from Multān, Shaikh 'Abdu'llāh and Shaikh 'Azīzu'llāh. The former was kept by the Sultān at Delhi and the latter was sent to Sambhal. These two brothers, it is said, popularized the rational sciences in Hindustān. Sultān Sikandar was specially interested in such sciences. He used to attend the lectures of Shaikh 'Abdu'llāh very respectfully and attentively. It is further stated that Shaikh 'Abdu'llāh produced more than forty scholars like Miyān Lādan, Jamāl Khān of Delhi, Miyān Shaikh of Gwalior, and Mirān Sāiyid Jalāl of Bada'ūn. Maulānā Ḥātim of Sambhal was a celebrated pupil of Shaikh 'Azīzu'llāh. Another notable scholar who also hailed from Multān and later settled in Delhi was Maulānā Samā'u'ddīn who was also well versed in rational sciences. See *Bada'ūnī*, I, 323-324; *Akhbār-u'l Akh'yār*, 202; *Bada'ūnī*, III, 2.

The popular books on mysticism were *Fuṣūṣ-u'l Hikam* and *Futūḥāt-i Makkiyya¹* of Ibn-i 'Arabī (d. 1240-1241), and *Naqd-u'l Fuṣūṣ; 'Awārif-u'l Ma'ārif²*, *Ihya-u'l 'Ulūm*, *Kimiyyā-i Sa'ādat*; *Jawāhir-u'l Qur'ān* of Imām Ghazzālī,³ *Lawā'iḥ* of Mullā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī,⁴ Ādābu'l Muridin of Shaikh Ziyau'ddin Abu'n Najib 'Abdu'l Qāhir Suharwardī,⁵ *Mirsād-u'l Ibād*,⁶ *Minhāj-u'l 'Ābidin* of Imām Ghazzālī,⁷ *Lam'āt* of Shaikh Fakhru'u'ddin Iraqī,⁸ and *Qūtu'l-Qulūb* of Abu Tālib Makkī,⁹ etc.

BOOKS AND LIBRARIES

Since printing was not in vogue, books could only be diffused through copying manuscripts.¹⁰ There were a large number of professional copyists who could supply copies of manuscripts at very moderate rates.¹¹ Besides this, many scholars themselves were very rapid copyists.¹² Shaikh Junaid Hisārī, one of the descendants of Shaikh Ganj-i Shakar, is reported to have copied the whole Qur'ān with the vowel points within three days,¹³ and Shaikh 'Abdu'l Wahhab, a disciple of Shaikh Ali Muttaqī, used to copy one thousand couplets per night.¹⁴

Paper was manufactured in India. Kālpī was known for manufacturing paper; but this paper was not very durable and was dissolved in water very soon.¹⁵ Kashmir produced a better quality. It was so smooth that its ink could be washed out easily.¹⁶

1 For references to these books, see *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 187, 223, 238; *Gulzār-i Abrār*, 171a-171b, 177a, 200a-200b, 292a; *Siyār-u'l 'Ārifin*, 109; *Bada'ūnī*, III, 10, 16.

2 *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 138, 158, 185; *Bada'ūnī*, III, 10, 16, 22. It was written by Shaikh Shihābu'ddin Suharwardī (d. 1234-35).

3 For references to them see, *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 87; *Bada'ūnī*, III, 16, 46, 54-55.

4 See *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 230. For a discussion on some of its verses in the *Ibādat Khāna* of Akbar, see *Bada'ūnī*, III, 124-125.

5 For a reference to it being recommended by Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn of Ambethī to Shaikh Abul Fath see, *Bada'ūnī*, III, 16.

6 See *Gulzār-i Abrār*, 219b.

7 For references to it being studied in India, see *Gulzār-i Abrār*, 234a.

8 See *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 202, *Siyār-u'l 'Ārifin*, 104.

9 See *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 87.

10 A number of references to this may be found in *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 90, 91, 93 etc.

11 Shaikh Najibu'ddin Mutawakkil wanted to have a copy of *Jāmī'u'l Hikayāt* but did not have sufficient money to purchase it except one dirham. One Hamīd Nasākī (copyist) agreed to copy the manuscript for that small amount including the cost of paper. See *Gilānī*, *op. cit.* 77-78.

12 Shaikh Mubārak Nāgaurī, father of Abu'l Fażl, alone had copied five hundred books for himself. See Mir Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgirāmī, *Ma'āṣir-u'l Kirām*, Agra 1910, Vol. I, 197-198. Maulānā Jalalu'ddin Mānīkpūrī, a teacher, used to copy the Qur'ān and each copy fetched 500 tankās. See *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 171.

13 *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 271.

14 *Ibid.*, 258.

15 *Ma'āṣir-u'l Kirām*, Vol. I, 85.

16 *Bada'ūnī*, Vol. III, 144.

We do not know much about the nature of ink and pen, except that certain scholars¹ are reported to have themselves prepared ink which they used to distribute among their students.

There are more references to the private libraries than to the royal ones. For instance, the library of Shaikh Nizāmu'ddin Auliya' was open to the public.² Mir Sayyid 'Abdu'l Wahhāb,³ Shaikh Amīnu'ddīn,⁴ Saiyid Ibrāhīm⁵ (all contemporaries of Sikandar Lodi) and Ghāzi Khān⁶ had reputedly very fine collections of books.

MAINTENANCE OF SCHOOLS

Most of the educational institutions were wholly maintained by the state. Sultān Firoz Shāh, as referred to earlier, had sanctioned liberal grants for the maintenance of the educational institutions. Sultān Sikandar Lodi, himself a poet⁷ and a keen student,⁸ extended his patronage to the learned⁹ and passed much of his time in the company of the 'Ulamā.¹⁰ The result was that the education made considerable advance during his reign,¹¹ and numerous scholars from Arabia and other parts of the Muslim world came to India and settled in Delhi and Āgra.¹² Sher Shāh is reported to have pointed out that it is the duty of the monarch to award stipends to the scholars and teachers because a number of students and wayfarers who fail to represent their case before the Sultān generally benefit from them. Another advantage is that education and learning flourish in the kingdom.¹³ He once granted Rs. 1,500 in cash and 1,500 *bighās* of land to an intelligent scholar.¹⁴

Islām Shāh continued his father's traditions.¹⁵ Humāyūn, himself a

1 For instance, Shaikh 'Alī Muttaqī and Mulla Tāhir, *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 249; *Ma'āsir-u'l Kirām*, i/194-195.

2 *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 85.

3 *Ibid.*, 241.

4 *Gulzār-i Abrār*, 156a-156b.

5 *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, 239.

6 Bābur, besides other precious things, had found many books in the book-room of Ghāzi Khān, an Afghān noble. See Babur Nāma, A.S. Beveridge, ii/460.

7 His pen-name was Gul Rukhī.

8 He is reported to have asked Shaikh Samā'u'ddin, a reputed scholar, to teach him the *Mizān*, a book on Arabic declension and conjugation, see *Tārikh-i Khān-Jahānī*, 218.

9 See *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, i/167.

10 *Ibid.*, 169. *Tārikh-i Dā'udī*, 35.

11 It is said that even the soldiers took interest in learning. See *Tārikh-i Khān-Jahānī*, 218; *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, 171.

12 *Tārikh-i Dā'udī*, 36.

13 *Tārikh-i Dā'udī*, 221.

14 *Tārikh-i Dā'udī*, 132.

15 See Badā'ūnī, i/415-416; *Tārikh-i Khān-Jahānī*, 337-78, 385-86.

good scholar, extended his patronage to the learned.¹ These trusts were of perpetual nature and the death of the king did not hamper the progress of education. The state liberally awarded scholarships to the teachers and the students. No fees seem to have been charged from the students. The maintenance charges were not high because there were no costly formalities, namely, lofty buildings with many rooms, annual functions, examinations, and convocations etc. Generally, the teachers and the taught led quite simple lives and usually cordial relations existed among them.²

There was no formal method of testing the knowledge of the student. No examinations in the modern sense were held. The simple procedure seems to have been that when the student went through the prescribed course he was given a certificate of proficiency.³

The timings of lectures were generally from morning till forenoon; then, after lunch, from after the mid-day prayers till the after-noon prayers.⁴

This system of education continued for centuries, and has survived up to the present time, of course, with some modifications in the syllabi etc. It produced many eminent scholars and writers, but mainly, of course, in the field of religious sciences.

1 See Khwānd Mir, *Qānūn-i Humāyūnī* (Calcutta 1940) 27-30; *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, i/222.

2 Muḥammad Kabīr, in his *Afsāna-i Shāhān*(3b-4a), however, mentions that the teacher of his son was a very greedy fellow and if his son did not carry meals for him he was treated harshly. One day when the child did not carry meals for him, he was beaten. In the meantime a snake bit the child who began to weep but the cruel teacher did not pay attention to him, and so the child died.

3 See for instance, *Siyar-u'l Auliya'*, 104-105 for a certificate granted by Shaikh Kamālu'ddin Zāhid to Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddin Auliya' to teach *hadis*.

4 See *Akhbār-u'l Akhjār*, 296.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE NOBILITY UNDER THE LODĪ SULTĀNS

IQTIDAR HUSAIN SIDDIQUI

INTRODUCTION

THE early Sultāns of Delhi always paid close attention to the composition and organisation of the nobility, as the entire functioning of the state machinery and the defence of the Empire depended upon the co-operation of the nobles. For this reason the Sultāns had to take different factors into consideration with regard to the recruitment of the nobles. They also promoted nobles belonging to different social groups to high positions with a view to maintaining a balance of power among them. The Lodī Sultāns whose ancestors had been accustomed to the Indian political system under the Tughluqs, also followed the traditions of their predecessors in this regard.

First, Sultān Bahlūl favoured his followers, who had been serving his house since the time of his uncle, Islām Khān Lodī with high ranks and positions of prominence. Consequently Bahlūl's early associates and some of his relations became the high nobles of the Lodī Empire. Their power and influence remained intact throughout his reign. Important territories of the Empire were entrusted to their charge for defence and government. They belonged to different Afghān and non-Afghān families. Besides, the expansion of the Lodi rule in different territories in northern India also led to the absorption of the members of the old aristocratic families, both Mūslim and non-Mūslim in the nobility. This process continued also under the successors of Sultān Bahlūl, and ultimately the nobility became quite broad-based in consequence.

The view held by certain modern scholars about the tribal character of the nobility and state under the Lodī Sultāns is not borne out by the facts.¹

1 Prof. Rushbrook Williams seems to have been the first scholar to assert (in 1918) that the Lodī state system was tribal in character. Following him, Dr. R. P. Tripathi also declared that in Bahlūl's days "the Afghān Empire was a sort of confederation of tribes presided over by the Lodī King". Thereafter, Dr. K. S. Lal and Professor K. A. Nizami have expressed similar views. cf. *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1918, p. 16; Dr. R.P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 38; Dr. K.S. Lal, *Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate*, Bombay 1963, p. 159. See *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. V, *The Delhi Sultanate*, New Delhi, 1970, pp 686-688 for Prof. K. A. Nizami's assessment of the nature of monarchy under Sultān Bahlūl.

These views have no factual basis. I have discussed the nature of kingship under

Though we do not possess biographical bictionaries of the nobles of the Lodi Sultāns of the kind we have for the Mughal nobility, yet the references scattered in the different texts to the nobles, their *Iqtā's*, ranks and positions help us in analyzing the composition of the Lodi nobility and also the way in which the nobles were promoted from lower to the higher ranks during the Lodi period.

An attempt has been made in these pages to study the composition of the nobility and analyze the factors that led to the rise of a number of families to prominence during the Lodi period. Of the two appendices added to this study, one contains tables of the families, showing their members, the ranks, *iqtā's* and the role played by them in different territories, while the other contains the list of individual nobles with reference to the sources.

(a) *Position of the Afghāns in the Nobility*

Among the nobles who rose to prominence upon Bahlūl's accession to the throne, mention may be made of the following :

Masnad-i-'āli Tātār Khān Yūsuf Khail, the *Mūqā* of the *Sarkārs* beyond the river Sutlej;¹ Mubārak Khān Nūhāni, the *Mūqā* of *vilāyat* of Karā and Manikpūr;² Yūsuf Khān Jilwāni, and later his son, Ahmad Khān Jilwāni, who was appointed the *mūqā* of the *Sarkār* of Biyānā;³ and the father of Mian Muhammad Farmalī (whose name is not mentioned by the Chroniclers) who was married to the sister of Bahlūl. Mian Muhammad Farmalī and his brother, Tātār Khān Farmalī were honoured with ranks and separate *iqtā's*. The former held the *vilāyat* of Awadh, while the latter was assigned the *pargana* of Marehrā (Dist. Etah) for his maintenance.⁴

Masnad-i-'āli Qūtb Khān Lodi, son of Islām Khān Lodi and Khān-i-Jahān Lodi, son of Firūz Khān Lodi (younger uncle of Bahlūl) as the cousins of the Sultān held high positions at the court.⁵

Sultān Bahlūl and his successors in detail in the light of fresh evidence elsewhere. (Cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, Aligarh, 1969, pp. 1-60). The present study seeks further to establish that Bahlūl patterned the administrative system of his Empire on the models set by the earlier Sultāns of Delhi.

1 *Babur Nama*, i/383; hereafter cited in abbreviation as *BN*; also Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *The Evolution of the Vilayet, the Shiqq and the Sarkar*, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, Vol. V, 1963, p. 27.

2 Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, i/316, 317; hereafter cited as *Tab. Ak.* Badaoni, i/314.

3 Ni'matullah, *Tarikh-i Khan-i-Jahani*, edited by Dr. Imad-al-Din, Dacca, i/156, here after as *TKJ*; *Tab. Ak.*, i/308; Shaikh Jamāli, *Siyar-ul-Arifin* p. 117.

4 W. M., ff. 40b, ff. a.

5 *Tab. Ak.*, i/294, *WM*, f. 66a.

Next in importance to these nobles, mention may be made of Jamāl Khān Sārang Khānī, the *Mūqti*¹ of Hisār Firūzā;¹ ‘Umar Khān Serwānī, *Mūqti* of the *parganas* of Shahābād, Banūr, Pā’il and some others between them in the *sarkar* of Sirhind;² and ‘Isā Khān Lodi to whom the Sultān had assigned the *parganas* of Bhongāon, Kampil and Patiāli.³ Apart from the family of Miān Muhammad Farmalī, many other Farmalīs had acquired importance, such as Mian Gadā’ī Farmalī, the *Mūqti*⁴ of the *sarkār* of Qanauj,⁴ *Masnad-i-‘ālī* Khwājā Sa’id Farmalī⁵ and Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī.⁶ Khwājā Sa’id Farmalī held the ‘*iqtā’* consisting of the *parganas* of Hariānā, Dūsūiya and others (later, he was also honoured with the tutelage of Prince Niżām Khān).

The nobles and the relatives of the Sultān were held in such esteem that even during their life-time their sons and relations were often considered for high favours. For example, Ibrāhim Khān Nūhānī was entrusted with the charge of *sarkar* of Etāwāh in 1479⁷ while his father, Mubārak Khān Nūhānī, the *Mūqti*⁸ of the *vilayat* of Karā and Manikpūr was alive. If the *iqtā’*s and rank of the sons of high nobles were smaller than those of their fathers, they were allowed to succeed to them after their death as the case of Miān Hūsain, son of Khān-i-Jahān Lodī, the Elder, shows. Miān Hūsain held the *pargana* of Meerut in his father’s life-time but he was honoured with the title and *iqtā’* of his father after his death in 1486.⁸ Likewise Miān Hūsain Farmalī, a near

1 Abbas Khan Sarwani, *Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhi*, Habib Ganj Ms. Aligarh, f. 6, hereafter as *TSS*.

2 *Ibid.* 49.

3 *Tab. Ak.*, i/315.

4 Rizqullah Mūshṭaqī *Wāqi‘at-i-Mushtaqi*, hereafter cited as *WM*, ff 34b, 66a.

5 *Ibid.* 9b, 66a.

6 Though the *iqtā’* and rank of Khan-i-Khanān Farmalī during the reign of Bahlūl are not known, he appears to have acquired great importance towards the close of Bahlūl’s reign. It was he who espoused the cause of Prince Niżām Khān for succession to the throne of Bahlūl on the latter’s death. He and Khān-i-Jahān Lodī took away the dead body of Bahlūl from the royal camp near Etawah to Jalali where they invited Niżām Khān and enthroned him with the title of Sultān Sikandar Shāh. *Tab. Ak.*, 51/314; Abdul Baqi, Naharandi *Maa’sir-i Rahimi*, Naharemi, Bib. Ind. i/451; *Firishta*, i/179.

7 Cf. *Supra*.

8 ‘Abdul Qadir Badā’oni, *Muntakhabut Tawārikh*, hereafter as *Badaoni*, i/309. *Tab. Ak.*, i/309, 310.; *Firishta*, p. 178. Khān-i-Jahān Lodī, the Elder was the *Mūqta* of the *sarkār* of Badaūn.

relative of the Farmalis mentioned above rose from the position of a mere *sawār* at the beginning of Bahlūl's reign to that of the prominent nobles during the reign of Sultān Sikandar.¹

Special mention may be made of the position of the Farmalis who were held in high esteem and confidence by the Lodi Sūlāns. They did not belong to the Afghān stock² but were taken in the official hierarchy to counter-balance the Afghān nobles.

During Sultān Ibrāhīm's reign *Masnad-i-‘āli Mūṣṭafā* Farmali and his younger brother, Bāyazīd Fārmali rendered important services to the Sūlān by fighting against the rebel *amīrs*. Mūṣṭafā Farmali's father-in-law, *Masnad-i-‘āli Mūhammad Kālāpahār* Farmali was the son of Sūlān Bahlūl's sister as already mentioned. This reveals that the Farmalis were serving the house of Bahlūl since the time when Islām Khān Lodi held Sirhind as his *iqlā‘*. It also indicates how close the Farmalis were to the Lodi Sūlāns.

1 W.M., f. 62a.

2 It is commonly held that the Faramalis were Afghāns. Because they had settled in the country of the Afghāns, they had adopted certain local customs and, therefore, looked like the Afghāns. They resided in the Farmal region near Ghaznī, and this region is still called Farmal.

Mrs. Beveridge calls the Farmalis of the Tūrk and Tājik stock. But our contemporary authority Babur says: "Of Farmal (Farmūl) were the Shaikhzādās, descendants, of Shaikh Muhammad Salmān who were so much in favour during the Afghān period in Hindūstān." B.N., i/220, also for Mrs. Beveridge's opinion about the origin of the Farmalis.

Shaikh Rizqullāh Muṣhtaqī also throws some light on the origin of the farmalis when he refers to Sa‘id Khan Yūsuf-Khail Lodi's remark against *Masnad-i-‘āli Mi‘ān Hūssain* Farmali. Sa‘id Khan is reported to have told Rānā Sāngā about Mi‘ān Hūssain: "They are Shaikhzādās like the Brahmins among you. We have raised them. We are the brethren of the King. According to the custom of the Afghāns, sovereignty will rest either with the Shāhū Khail or the Yūsuf Khail. The rest are servants."

W.M., f. 62a.

In the same way Isā Khān Lodi scolded Khān-i Khānān Farmalī when the issue of succession was being discussed among the nobles on the death of Sultān Bahlūl. Isā Khān Lodi asked Khān-i Khānān Faramali not to interfere with the affairs of the Afghāns who were related to the Sultān while he was only a servant. Khān-i Khānān Farmalī, thereupon, replied that he was the servant of Sultān Sikandar but not of anybody else, *Firishta*, p. 179.

Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān, who did not know much of the origin of the Farmalis and Farmal region from where the latter had migrated to India, also throws some light on the matter. He says that the Farmalis were not of the Afghān origin. *Khulāṣat-ul Ansāb*, Ms. Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, f. 52 b.

The information furnished by the author of the '*Hayāt-i-Afghāni*' is conclusive. He says that "the Farmalis are of the Tajik origin." Further he states that in his days the Farmalis called themselves the descendants of the Khaljis who had established their rule in India in 1226. '*Hayāt-i Afghāni*', Hayāt Khān (a 19th century Urdu work), p. 314.

But the Afghāns belonging to the Sūr, Baṭīnī, Niāzī, Karrānī, Kākār, Ghūrghūsh, Sirbīnī, etc., do not appear to have risen to a high status during the reign of Sultān Bahlūl. In fact throughout the Lodi period, neither the Sūrs nor the Niāzīs had succeeded in attaining even the position of a *maiik*. Even *Himmat Khān* Sūr, who was one of the old servants of Bahlūl and held his *iqtā'* in the *parganā* of Ludhiana, did not have the rank of a *malik*.¹ Generally the Sūrs and Nāzīs served in the contingents of the high nobles though some of them acquired a certain degree of influence in such a capacity.

At this stage it would be worth-examining the view that Sultān Bahlūl invited the Afghāns of 'Roh' in large number and gave them high ranks and large *iqtā'*s. 'Abbās Sarwānī gives a graphic account of the invitation that he sent to the chiefs of Roh, in consultation with his nobles, to come to his help at a time when he was faced with the danger of the Sharqī attack. He wrote, according to 'Abbās, "If my dear friends are pleased to come down to this country, I shall have only the name of king, while each kingdom and territory that has been conquered and will pass under our control will be shared by us as between brothers." In response to Bahlūl's invitation, the Afghāns of Roh turned up in large numbers and joined the Sultān.² Shaikh Kabir would also have us believe that the Empire was considered by the Afghāns to be the property of the Afghān tribes in general and no distinction was made between the rest and the Lodi Sultān. All lived like brethren sharing the benefits of sovereignty. He writes in more than one place that Sultān Bahlūl agreed to give one-fourth of the conquered territories to Ahmad *Khān* Jilwānī with the title of Sultān when he

Lastly we may discuss the problem relating to the transliteration of the word (*Farmalī*'s). There is no justification for the modern scholars to transliterate it as Farmūlī because the region has not been mentioned as Farmūl in the Persian chronicles. Since the descendants of Shaikh Salman of Farmal tried to keep the memory of their ancestral home fresh, they called themselves *Farmalī* after it.

¹ According to Rizqullāh Mushtāqī, the Sūrs and the Niāzīs were not favoured by the Lodi Sultāns for Bahlūl's doubts about their loyalty. He says that Bahlūl bequeathed the following will to Sultān Sikandar:

"First do not raise anyone of the Sūr tribe to the dignity of noble and grandee, for they have ambition for sovereignty; second never employ any Niāzī as they are uncultured people and have no sense of loyalty to the salt."

W.M., f. 47b.

Because the Sūr tribe was very small and poverty-stricken, it remained of no consequence till Sher Shah's rise to power. The Niāzīs were not relied upon due to their past hostility to the Lodi house. Bahlūl's father, Kala Lodi was killed fighting against the rebel Niāzīs in the *iqtā'* of Islām *Khān* Lodi. *Fīrishta*, i/173.

However, the will seems to have been fabricated when the sudden rise of the Sūrs and Niāzīs under Sher Shah dazzled the people.

TSS., ff. 3, 4.

invited the later from Roh for his help in 1452.¹

These statements require careful examination on the basis of the data contained in the medieval chronicles. The version of Mushtaqi, who is a more reliable authority for the period, is that the army of Bahlul was only seven thousand strong at the battle of Narila against the more numerous Sharqi army. Only a few chiefs with their relatives came to India. 'Abbās mentions only the name of Kālū Khān of Mahmud Khail, who had received injuries in the battle of Narila and returned to 'Roh' with the other chiefs.² Similarly it is extremely doubtful whether the order of Sultān Bahlul (quoted by the same writer) was ever enforced, even if it was issued. The Sultān is reported to have instructed his high nobles: "Present before me every one who comes to 'Hind' from 'Roh' and is willing to enter my service. I shall grant him a *jāgīr* (*iqlā'*) more agreeable than he deserves, and if he prefers to serve under any one of you (nobles), out of ties of kinship, attachment and friendship, you shall offer him satisfactory salary; and if I hear of a single Afghān going back to his country for want of livelihood or employment, I shall remove you from your *jāgīrs*."³

But 'Abbās' account of Ibrāhim Sūr and his son, Hasan Khān Sūr shows that many of the Afghāns who came to India in search of employment, had considerable difficulty in finding a good job.⁴ Sometimes they were forced to serve under non-Afghāns for want of encouragement from their own kinsmen.⁵ Sometimes even non-Afghān

1 'Abbās says about the coming of the Afghāns from Roh for Bahlul's help against Sultān Mahmūd Sharqi of Jaunpur at the time of the Narila battle, fought in 1452: "Having received the *farmāns*, the Afghāns of Roh started from all sides like ants and locusts and joined Sultān Bahlul's service." (TSS., f. 4).

Mushtaqi says that Bahlul got victory over the Sharqi army at Narila with the help of seven thousand *sawārs* only. It should be remembered that the later chroniclers draw the details of this battle from his work. W.M., f. 5b.

According to the author of the *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahān* only ten thousand *sawars* and fifteen thousand foot soldiers came to the Lodi Sultān. (TKJ., i/143.)

The author of the *Tārikh-i-Dā'ūdi* says that according to some sources Bahlul's army consisted of 14,000 *sawars* while others tell that it did not exceed the number of 7,000 *sawars*. (Tārikh-i-Dā'ūdi, Abdullah, Aligarh, 1969, hereafter as T.D., p. 15).

The numerical strength of the Afghān army always remained inferior to that of the Sharqi army. But the Afghāns always gained upper hand over the enemy in every battle for their better organisation and deceitful tactics.

See A. B. Pandey, *The First Afghan Empire*, pp. 63-4, 70-86, for the details of the battles

2 TSS., ff. 4, 5.

3 Ibid., f. 5.

4 TSS., f. 6.

5 W.M., f. 41a.

nobles surpassed the Afghāns in the service of the high Afghān nobles. A few examples will suffice. Miān Zain-ud'-din and Miān Zahar-ud'-din were the chief officers of Khān-i Jahān Lodi. They looked after the administration of the *sarkār* of Badaon on behalf of Khān-i Jahān. They were reputed military generals also.¹ Likewise 'Alī Khān Ushi held the rank of 4,000 *sawars* in the service of 'Āzam Humāyūn Serwānī.²

There seem to have been a few Afghān immigrants of noble birth who thought it derogatory to serve under the nobles and, therefore, directly entered royal service. But even they were never assigned more than a few villages for the maintenance of their followers and families. Ni'matullāh mentions Firoz Kākar, belonging to an important family and tribe of Roh, who came to India in 1452 and entered royal service. Though the Sulṭān showed him consideration and regard, he was not appointed to any high post or rank. Only a few villages in the *parganā* of Pā'il in the *sarkār* of Sirhind were assigned to him for his maintenance. As Firoz Kākar died towards the close of Bahlūl's reign, his son, Luqmān was allowed to succeed his father in his small *iqtā'* and rank.³ Like them the non-Afghān immigrants who came from 'Arabia and central Asia were also given small posts but only on the recommendation of the high nobles.⁴

The fact that only poverty-stricken individuals belonging to different Afghān tribes and clans migrated to India for permanent stay, should not be lost sight of. The tribal chiefs of Roh did not like the idea of settling down in India; they loved their tribal freedom too strongly to sacrifice it for Bahlūl.⁵

It appears that Bahlūl continued to depend mainly on his old supporters for the protection of his territories against attacks of the Sharqi Sultāns. After 1478, the power of Sulṭān Husain Sharqī began to

1 *Ibid.*, f. 29a.

2 *Ibid.*, f. 36a.

3 *T.K.J.*, ii/485. As a matter of fact 'Abbās and other Afghān chroniclers who have copied the former, wrote their books long after the overthrow of the Afghān rule. All of them glorify Afghān rule and exaggerate the facts regarding the respectful attitude of the Afghān Kings towards the Afghāns, nobles as well as petty *sawārs*. The *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtaqi* and the contemporary hagiological literature, helps us to understand the real situation better.

4 *L.Q.* p. 107, *Tab. A.K.*, i/299 for Shaikh Husain and Ahmad Khān Shīmī.

5 It is to be noted that the majority of the Afghāns of Roh did not like to seek their fortunes in India till the fall of the Sūr Empire, inspite of their harsh poverty. They preferred hunger to lucrative jobs in India. (*Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, f. 91b.) Moreover, the Afghāns of Roh looked down upon the Indian-born Afghāns as the remark of Sunbal Afghāns against Mubārak Khān Sūr shows: "You were born in India and know not the ways of the Afghāns. Hitherto the heron has not dared to play the tyrant over the falcon." (*T.S.S.*, ff. 126-7).

decline and Bahlūl took the offensive. Ultimately, by 1486 he had succeeded in conquering a major part of Sharqī territory, including Jaunpūr. Only the trans-Ghagra districts of *Sarūār* and *Bahrāich* and the territories of *Chunār*, *Sāran*, *Champārān*, and *Bihār* in the east were left in the possession of Sultān Husain Sharqī. The newly seized territories were assigned to persons who had not held large *iqtā'*s before. Apparently, these persons were included in the front rank of the nobility only at this time. These were mostly Afghāns; but it appears that being an Afghān was not considered to be an adequate qualification. Bahlūl seems to have selected these nobles after great care and consideration, and there is no suggestion that any tribal leader with some following was able to secure high position. Among the important persons who now secured large *iqtā'*s or high posts, mention may be made of Mubārak Khān, Yūsuf Khail, Mahmūd Khān Shahu Khail, (Bahlūl's cousin), Mahabat Khān Lodi, 'Alī Khān Lodi, Mubarak Khān Tūgīkhail, Dariyā Khān Sarwānī and Dilāwār Khān Sarwānī, the father of 'Azam Humāyūn Sarwānī (the famous *Muqta'* of Kara and Manikpūr Vilayet after the death of Mubārak Khān Nūhānī).

These nobles were assigned sizable *iqtā'*s in the conquered Sharqī territories under Princes of the blood. They acquired sufficient knowledge of the nature of people and administration of the respective regions; and thus their services became indispensable. On the overthrow of the Princes during the first years of the Sikandar's reign, these nobles rose to prominence and were honoured with the title of *Masnad i'tāli'*, the highest honorific given in those days.

A few words may also be added about the position held by the Princes of the blood. Sultān Bahlūl entrusted most of the important *vilāyets* and territories to them in preference to his nobles. His surviving eldest son, Bārbak Shāh was assigned the charge of the *vilāyet* of Jaunpūr;¹ Prince Ā'zam Humāyūn (son of Bayazid, the eldest son of Bahlūl who was murdered by one of his servants), the *sarkārs* of Kālpī and Lucknow;² Prince 'Ālam Khān, the *iqtā'* of Rāprī and Chandwār;³ and heir-apparent, Prince Nizām Khān the *vilāyet* of Dār-u'l-Mulk Delhi.⁴

On the basis of references to the events of the early years of Sultān Sikandar's reign—it may be gathered that many non-Afghāns were holding, towards the closing years of Bahlūl's reign, the command of comparatively small administrative units or of not too large armies. Mention may be made in this connection of Khwāja Asghar⁵ (Delhi);

1 Tab. AK., i/312, 315; *Firishṭā*, 178.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

Khwās Khān (Machhiwārā),¹ Ṣafdar Khān,² etc. As they were entrusted with important positions in the beginning of Sikandar's reign, they must have accquired some importance towards the close of his father's reign. Similarly there is evidence to show that Bahlūl retained certain Sharqī nobles and *zamīndārs* in their previous positions in the former Sharqī *vilayets* under his *muqti*'s, although they were deeply attached to the Sharqī house and had paid him allegiance only out of expediency. Later, they raised a storm against his *muqta*'s and successor.³

In conclusion it may be safely stated that the high nobles of Bahlūl largely belonged to the Shāhū Khail and Yusūf Khail clans of the Lodi tribe, Nūhānī, Sarwānī, Jilwānī and Farmlai families. The sons of these high nobles had access to the Sulṭān and could enter his service even during the life-time of their father. They dominated the political scene throughout the Lodī period. The successors of Bahlūl replaced at certain times the elder brothers with the younger ones in their *iqtā*'s and ranks if the latters succeeded in their conspiracies hatched against their elders. But in such cases they were granted allowances for the maintenance of their families and *sawārs*.⁴ In fact, the high nobility became a self-perpetuating closed circle of a few families.

Bahlūl never appears to have raised any non-Afghān Muslim or Hindū noble in a newly-acquired territory to a position higher than he had held previously, for the interest of his dynasty and Sultanate could not be served by them better than members of the families of his old followers. It is also worth-mentioning that the Afghān and non-Afghān nobles were divided on the death of Bahlūl into four groups to support the cause of the rival Princes for the throne. Those who were faddist for 'pure' Afghān blood were opposed to Prince Niẓām Khān born of a goldsmith's daughter, while the Farmalis and certain Afghan nobles like Khān-i-Jahān Lodī and Jamāl Khān Lodī Sārang Khānī who did not attach any importance to the 'purity' of blood remained on the side of the latter. Being a cultured Prince, Niẓām Khān also enjoyed the confidence of many minor non-Afghān nobles such as the Kanbos, local Shaikhzādās and the Saiyids who rendered important services in his war against his rebels. With the support of these different sections of the nobility, Niẓām Khān became the Sulṭān and assumed the title of Sikandar Shāh on 17th July 1489.⁵

1 *Tab.* i/322; *T.K.S.*, i/189.

2 *Tab. A.K.*, i/322, also *Appendix, B.*

3 *W.M.*, f. 41b.

4 *Tab-A.K.*, i/319; *W.M.*, f. 29b.

5 *Firishtā*, p. 179; *Tab. A.K.*, i/314-25.

UNDER SULTĀN SĪKANDAR

With the accession of Sultān Sikandar to the throne certain changes took place in the composition of the nobility. The overthrow of the princes as a result of the civil war, fought for the throne as well as for the mastery of the eastern region during the early years of his reign,¹ brought many men of lesser importance to the forefront. These newly-raised nobles may be classified under three categories: (*i*) those who were in the personal service of Sikandar during Bahlūl's time, (*ii*) those who had been on good terms with him since the previous reign and (*iii*) the nobles who held important ranks in the service of the rival princes but had succeeded in winning his favour by betraying the cause of their master at the time of conflict. They came from different Afghān as well as non-Afghān families.

Outstanding amongst the men of the first category were the relatives of Khwājā Sā'īd Farmalī; Nasīr Khān Nūhānī, and Dariyā Khān Nūhānī (sons of *Masnad-i-Āli* Mubarak Khan Nūhānī, Muqta of Karā and Manikpur vilayet); Sher Khān Nūhānī, Bijli Khān Nūhānī; Ibrāhīm Khān Sarwānī, son of Khān-i Ā'zam 'Umar Khān Sarwānī; Ikhtiyār Khān Togh and Muqeem Khān.² They rose to prominence after Sikandar's accession to the throne as will be discussed subsequently. Particularly, most significant were the Farmalis who held more than one-third of the Empire during his reign and to whose importance even Bābur testifies.³

Khān-i Ā'zam 'Umar Khān Sarwānī, Jamāl Khān Lodi Sārangkhānī, Khān-i Khānān Farmalī, Khān-i Khanan Nūhānī, Khawās Khān of Machhiwara and Khwājā Asghar came under the second category, while Mahmūd Khān Shāhū Khail, Mubārak Khān Yūsuf Khail; Ā'zam Hūmāyūn Sarwānī (former Ahmad Khān), Miān Zaitūn (Afghan), and Rai Ganesh were of the third category. They were entrusted with important posts and territories.⁴

1 It was after the accession of Sultān Sikandar that the eastern territories of Chunār, Sāran, Champārān, Bihār, Bahrā'ich and Sarūār (modern Gorakhpur) were brought under the frontiers of the Lodī Empire. Prior to it they were under the occupation of the Sharqī nobles and *zamindars*, who were still in the service of Sultān Husain Sharqī whom Sultān Bahlūl had left in Bihar to rule over it. On his expulsion from Bihar in 1494-5, his nobles were also wiped out in all the eastern territories.

Cf. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, "Evolution of the vilayet, the Shiqq and the sarkar." *Medieval India Quarterly*, 1963, p. 29.

2 W.M., ff 10ab, 11a, for the association of the nobles with Sikandar during Bahlūl's reign.

3 *Ibid.* f. 66a; Appendix B, for the *iqṭā'*s and ranks of the farmalis.

4 Cf. Appendix, B.

Many other small nobles also rose in the state service and ultimately gained the status of importance as the cases of Mujāhid Khān Kambo, and Miān Makkan, Khwājā Khān Mewātī (of Mewat) and Malik 'Adil Qanauji (of Qanauj) show.¹ It may also be pointed out that these nobles recruited their contingents from among different sections of Indian society, especially the Rajputs and non-Afghan Muslims.² Similarly the Sulṭān also recruited people belonging to different sections for his khaṣā khail (personal army of the Sulṭān).³

Recruitment to the rank of the nobility or promotion in royal service depended primarily on the recommendation of the influential nobles at the court. Merit and ability of the individuals attracted royal attention only in very special cases. It is difficult to accept Mushtāqi's statement that "just he (Sulṭān Sikandar) enquired about the lineage (of the candidate), and then granted (him) *iqtā'*.⁴" The data available at our disposal indicates that no new person, even of a noble family was straight-away given an *iqtā'*. It was hardly possible for a fresh entrant to get a job of any consequence in the nobility or the khaṣā khail of the Sulṭān. The available evidence reveals that even resourceful military men had to serve in the personal contingents of the high nobles; and they change masters, if they desired a better position. For example, a Mughal, Māmūn had many horses of good pedigree with the necessary war materials, but he served in the contingents of the nobles, for it was not possible for him to get a suitable job in the royal army.

On a different footing was the case of those holding *iqtā'*s and important positions in territories conquered or acquired diplomatically without war. Such persons were taken in the nobility often without increase in their previous status. For example, Prince Muḥammad Khān of Mālwā was granted the status of a high noble when he came to Sulṭān Sikandar in 1509 after having rebelled against Sulṭān Naṣir-u'd-din of Malwa. The Lodī Sulṭān confirmed him as the *Muqti'* of the Sarkar of Chanderi and deputed Prince Jalāl Khān for his protection against the armies of Mālwā.⁵ Similarly Wajāhat Khān, 'Alī Khān, Shaikh Manjhū and Abu Bakr Khan (former servants of the Sulṭān of Mālwā) were straightaway taken in the nobility. 'Alī Khān was assigned the charge

¹ Appendix, B; *W.M.*, ff. 94a, 103b.

² *W.M.*, f. 63a, 65a; *T.S.A.*, ff. 54.

³ *W.M.*, ff 8a-b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f 29b.

⁵ *Tab. A.K.*, i/331,

It is worth-mentioning that the vilayet of Chanderi was a part of the kingdom of Mālwā but it was annexed to the Lodī Empire when Prince Muḥammad Khān paid allegiance to Sikandar.

of the *Sarkār* of Sheopūri.¹ There were a few other nobles who came from Mālwā to Sikandar in 1511. Important among them were ‘Ālām Khān, Malikul Fuzala and Malikul-Hukamā. Though we are not informed about the positions entrusted to them by Sikandar, Malikul-Fuzalā, who was known for his experience in war-fare and administration got an *iqṭā’* along with Shaikh Manjhū in the vilayet of Chanderi, so that they could help in reconciling the local people to the Lodī rule as they held considerable influence there because of their long association with that region.² It is obvious that such nobles were in a special category and their promotion was mainly due to political expediency.

Occasionally, promotion was given for personal merit or individual consideration. In 1505-6 Dā’ud Khān Lodī was raised to the rank of a *malik* in reward for bravery displayed by him in the battle against the Rājā of Gwālior.³ In 1507-8, Miān Makkan, who was in the service of Mujāhid Khān Kambo, was granted an independent rank when the latter was thrown in jail for taking bribe from the Rājā of Untgarh. Later Mian Makkan was entrusted with the charge of Bārī town.⁴

The relevant evidence contained in the inscriptions, related to two different buildings constructed by a noble at two different places may also be added here as it sheds some additional light on the promotion of the noble from one post to the other. The first inscription is related to the tomb of Shaikh Jalālu’ddin (a saint of Pānipat), built in the year 1498 A.D. by Firoz, son of Muḥammad Luṭfūllāh Afghān, probably the officer of Pānipat.⁵ The second inscription that belongs to a mosque in the town of Deoband (in Saharanpur district in U.P.), built by the aforesaid noble in 1510 A.D. reveals that Firoz was transferred to Deoband and by that time, his father, Muḥammad Luṭfullah was promoted to the rank of malik. The inscription bears the name of the builder with his father’s rank : “This Jamai’ mosque was built during the reign of Sulān Sikandar Shāh, son of Sulān Bahlūl (May God perpetuate his

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1 Tab. A.K., i/331, 333.

Later on ‘Ali Khan lost his *iqṭā’* for incurring the displeasure of Sikandar. His *sarkār* was transferred to his younger brother, Abū Bakr Khān.

2 W.M., ff 80a-b.

3 Tab. A.K., i/326; T.K.J., i/198-9; M.R., i/466.

The author of ‘Mā’āṣir-i-Rahimī’ wrongly calls Dā’ud Khān as Awadh Khān.

4 T.K.J., i/201, 210.

5 *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1910-11, No. 1103.

This inscription was cited in the E.P.I.M. 1910-11, No. 1103, but Mr A. A. Qadri, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, was kind enough to provide me with its full text. It may be translated :

“This building has been constructed by Firoz, (son of) Muḥammad Luṭfullāh Afghān during the reign of the Sultān of Sultāns, Sikandar Shah, son of Bahlūl Shāh....the dome of the tomb of Shaikh-ul-Mashāikh-wa-A’uliyā, Shaikh Jalāl-ul-Haque-wa-a’d-Din....904 A.H.”

country), by the great Akram, son of Miān Firoz, son of Mālik Muḥammad Luṭfullāh Afghān.”¹

It is noteworthy that Sulṭān Sikandar not only sought to strengthen his relations with the Rais and Rājās, and the leading *zamindār* families of the Empire and the adjacent areas, but also assigned to some of them specific military and administrative duties. Rājā Singh Kachhwāhā was entrusted the charge of Narwar fort when it was conquered in 1508 after a bitter struggle.² When Rāi Ganesh deserted Bārbak Shāh, Sulṭān Sikandar assigned to him the *parganas* of Patiālī, Shamsābād, Kampil and Bhogāon.³ Rai Vir Singh, the grandson of Rāi Bhid Chandra of Bhattā, was frequently given military assignments by the governors of Jaunpur and Kara.⁴ Prem Deo was appointed the *Muqti*⁵ of Meerut,⁶ while Jagar Sen Kachhwāha held an *iqā*⁷ in the vilayet of Chanderi.⁸ Malik Roop Chand was constantly with the Afghān forces.⁹ It may be inferred from the examples mentioned above that the process of drawing the *zamindārs* closer to the circle of the nobility had begun during the time of the Lodis.

The author of the *Tarikh-i-Dā'udi* has stated that in consequence of the wide-spread fame of Sulṭān Sikandar for large-heartedness and generosity, grandees, scholars and saints came from 'Arabia, Persia and other territories and settled down in India.¹⁰ A close examination of the available evidence indicates that such persons were given small posts (under the Sulṭān or under the nobles) or given maintenance grants. It may be safely asserted that immigrants were not raised to the status of nobility by Sulṭān Sikandar.

Unfortunately, adequate information is lacking regarding the non-Afghan nobles. In the course of the account of expeditions and campaigns given by the contemporary chroniclers, references are made to the non-Afghāns who were not *zamindārs* or former servants of other rulers but who seem to be prominent enough and be regarded as nobles. Some of these may have reached such a position under Sulṭān Sikandar, while others might have been holding the positions from an

1 The Dooband inscription was discovered by Mr A. A. Qadri a few years back. He has again provided me with its full text. This inscription has been listed in the annual report on Indian Epigraphy, 1967-68, D. No. 272.

2 Cf. *The First Afghan Empire*, A. B. Pandey, p. 140.

3 The medieval writers differ in referring to the name of Rai Ganesh. Firishtā calls him Rai Kailan while others mention him Rai Kans. I have followed Nimatullah, who calls him Rai Ganesh. *T.K.J.*, i/173; also Cf. A. B. Pandey, p. 116.

4 A. B. Pandey, p. 126 (f.n.); *W.M.*, f.

5 *M.R.*, f. i/506.

6 *Tab. A.K.*, i/332.

7 *L.Q.*, p. 148.

8 *T.D.*, p. 36.

earlier period. For instance, Miān Dā'ūd Malik, the *chashnigir* (Superintendent of the royal kitchen and food),¹ Saiyid Ruhullah, 'Umar Khān Kambo; Jamāl Khān Kambo; Shaikh Habib, Khwājā Bain, Mu'īz-u'd-din Khān, Hājī Sarang Khān; Firoz Aghawān; Mian Qāsim, *muqli'* of the *sarkar* of Sambhal, etc. may be referred to.²

To sum up it may be stated that the nobility under Sulṭān Sikandar comprised predominantly of the Afghāns and the larger *iqātā's* and the more important offices were held by a fairly closed circle, composed of just a few families. Nevertheless Sulṭān Sikandar seems to have made a conscious attempt, even though it was necessarily limited in character, to broad-base his nobility, not only did some of the Afghāns, who had minor positions and who did not belong to the leading families, rise to position of prominence, but there is a definite inclusion in the ranks of the nobility of the former servants of other Kings, of the Rais and Rājās, and of other non-Afghān elements. While some of these elements were brought into the nobility for political or military reasons or for merit, it is not unlikely that Sulṭān Sikandar was trying to build up the position of a new section of the nobility as a counterpoise to the influence of the small number of families who were dominating the Empire.

UNDER SULTĀN IBRĀHĪM

On his accession in 1517, Sulṭān Ibrāhim was faced with a difficult situation. Many of the influential nobles including some who were *Muqli's* of important administrative units or commanders of large army contingents, who were present in the capital insisted on dividing the Empire between Ibrāhim and his younger brother, Prince Jalāl Khān. But soon the majority of the leading nobles threw in their lot with the Sulṭān against the pretensions of his younger brother whose power was destroyed without much difficulty. This event and the successful escape of Jalāl Khān from Gwālior at the time of its siege nevertheless led the Sulṭān to doubt the loyalty of many of the nobles. Most important among them were 'Āzam Humāyun Sarwāni and his son, Fath Khān and *Masnad-i-'alī* Bhū'ā.³ To strengthen his position and keep the old powerful nobles in check, the Sulṭān decided to build a group of nobles in whom he could repose confidence.

1 *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement 1967*, Edited by Dr Z. A. Desai, Calcutta, 1968, p. 37.

2 Cf. Appendix, B.

3 W.M., f. Cf. for the destruction of the nobles of doubtful loyalty.

The nobles who enjoyed positions of importance during the reign of Ibrāhīm, may also be classified into three categories : Firstly, those high nobles who attached themselves to the Sulṭān just after his accession ; secondly, the important nobles who had fallen out of the royal favour during the preceding reign and, thirdly, the favourites of the Sulṭān whom he assigned important posts in the army as well as in administration. The worth-mentioning nobles of the first category were *Masnad-i-‘āli* Adam Kākar; *Khān i-Khānān Nūhānī*; Haibat Khan Gurgandāz (a non-Afghān); *Shaikh* Muḥammad Farmali, son of *Masnad-i-‘āli Khwājā* Sa‘id Farmali; *Shaikh* Manjhū (Shaikhzada of Malwā); *Masnad-i-‘āli* Muḥammad Kālāpahār Farmali; Karīm Dād Togh and Malik Ismā‘il Jilwānī. They were among the leading nobles of Sulṭān Sikandar but continued to enjoy the trust of Ibrahim because of their attachment to his cause from the beginning of his reign.¹ (Later on Malik Ismā‘il Jilwānī supported Prince ‘Ālam Khān whom Daulat Khān Lodi had invited from Gujarat against the Sulṭān).² Some of the aforesaid nobles like Adam Khān Kākar; *Khān-i-Khānān Nūhānī* and *Masnad-i-‘āli* Muḥammad Kālāpahār Farmali were aged people and seem to have died early during the reign of Ibrāhīm but their *iqtā‘s* and positions were granted to their sons.

Most important among the nobles of the second category were the descendants of *Khān-i Āzam* ‘Umar Khān Sarwānī, *Masnad-i-‘āli Bābū* Khān Sarwānī and *Masnad-i-‘āli* ‘Isā Khān Sarwānī and certain other nobles. Bābū Khan Sarwānī was the youngest son of ‘Umar Khān while ‘Isā Khan Sarwānī was the son of Haibat Khan Sarwānī, the second of ‘Umar Khan Sarwānī. They were recalled from Gujarat where they were living in exile since the times of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodi.³ Sulṭān Ibrahim Lodi entrusted them with important positions.⁴ *Masnad-i-‘āli* Husain Farmali, the ex-*Muqta‘* of the *sarkārs* of Saran and Champaran returned from Bengal and was restored to his previous position. (Soon afterwards he became hostile to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm also because he was deputed to fight against Rānā Sāngā under the command of Mian Makkan, a newly-raised noble)⁵. The other important noble was Jalāl Khān Lodi, son of Maḥmūd Khān Lodi (Shahū Khail) who was taken out of jail and restored to his lost position as the *Muqta‘* of the *sarkār* of Kālpī.⁶

1 *Tab. A.K.*, i/342; *T.K.J.*, i/233, 240.

2 *B.N.*, ii/*Mirat-i-Sikandari*.

3 *T.S.S.*, f. 88.

4 *T.S.S.*, f. 88-9.

5 *V.M.*, f. 61b.

6 *B.N.*, ii/457.

Mention may also be made of Ahmad Khān Lodi, son of Khān-i-Jahān Lodi; Ahmad Khān Yusūf Khail, son of Mubārak Khān Yusūf Khail and *Masnad-i-‘āli* Bhikkān Khān Lodi. The former was superseded by one of the servants of his father in the office and rank on the death of Khān-i-Jahān Lodi while the *iqtā’*s and the positions of the latter were transferred to their younger brothers. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm restored them to their rightful positions.¹ The number of the royal favourites, raised to the positions of authority abruptly seems to have been by no means inconsiderable. They either served in the *Khāsā Khail* of Ibrāhīm or remained into insignificance in the times of Sulṭān Sikandar. For, example, Daulat Khān Inder (previously in the personal service of Ibrāhīm) was appointed as one of the supreme officers along with Karīm Dād Togh and Haibat Khān Gūrgandaz in Delhi in 1518-19.² Daulat Khān Nūhānī, a Khānāzād (servant’s son) of Ā’zam Humayūn Sarwānī was raised to the position of the *amir-i-arz* with the title of *naib-i-Saltanat* and the rank of 12,000 *sawārs*.³ Miān Makkan, the ex-officer of Mujahid Khān Kambo, rose in dignity so much that even the high nobles of the respected families had to fight under his command.⁴

The slab of the inscription, set up over the central *mihrāb* of a mosque in *Muḥallah Athain* of Agra, sheds light on the importance and dignity, acquired by him.⁵ (The mosque was built by Ruknu’d-din Mardan Shah of Zafarabad, a servant of Miān Makkan). The reference to Miān Makkan provides us with fresh information about his full title and the position during Ibrāhīm Lodi’s reign. In this inscription he is called as *Majlis-i-‘āli* Zafar Khān alias Miān Makkan. It is indicative of the fact that he was now raised to the rank of Khān, the highest position in the nobility and was addressed as *Majlis-i-‘āli*. His son, Hasan was entrusted separately with the charge of the important fort of Kandhar in Rajputānā.⁶

The other favourites who appear to have served in the *Khaṣakhail* of Ibrāhīm in his father’s life-time, were entrusted with the charge of administrative units with high ranks. Niẓam Khān, Qāzi Razi and Qutb Khān were appointed as *Muqta’s* of the *sarkār* of Bayāna, the

1 W.M., f. 29b; also Cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, Aligarh, 1969, pp. 34, 43

2 T.K.J., i/240.

3 W.M., ff 36a-b; T.S.S., f. 23.

4 Appendix B.

5 B.N., ii/529.

6 *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1967, Edited by Dr Z.A. Dessai, Calcutta, 1968, p. 37.

7 B.N., ii/523, 538; Also Cf. Appendix, B.

vilayat of Awadh and the *sarkār* Etawah (latter being the successor of Bhikkan Khān Lodi after his death) respectively.¹ Next to them were Malik Abul Fath, the *Shiqdār* of Sandilā (in Khālsa) Muḥammad Khān, son of certain ‘Umar, *Shiqdār* of Kol (city), Muḥammad Marḡūb (originally slave), *Mugti‘* of Mahāwan (*sarkār* Mathura), Hamid Khān (former Khaṣakhail, *Shiqdār* of Hisār Firūza, ‘Ālam Khān, *Muqta‘* of Tahangar and Malik Sardūk (in-charge of Agra fort).² They were never heard of previously and rose to prominence due to the favour of Sūlān Ibrahim.

Similarly Shaikh Farīd (a relation of Rizqullāh Mushtaqī) who had taught the Sulān in his boyhood, was honoured with the department of *Sadārat*.³ Shaikh Farīd gained so much influence over the Sulān and his nobles that he caused the ruin of many old nobles of consequence of whose loyalty to the Sulān he became suspicious and their places were filled by the new ones.⁴ A few names may also be included in the list of the new nobles taken by Sulān Ibrahim in the official hierarchy. They were the experienced men of administration and warfare and had successfully ruled over people in neighbouring territories. Mention may be made of Rai Salāhdī and Rai Bikramājīt the ex-ruler of Gwalior. The former wielded such a great influence in eastern Rajputana that every powerful ruler who wanted to maintain his supremacy in that region, appointed him as one of his high nobles. First, the Sulāns of Malwa and afterwards Rānā Sāngā tried to keep him attached to them. Sulān Ibrahim also gave him a large *iqtā‘* in the vilayet of Chanderi when he came to him along with *Masnad-i-‘āli* Husain Khān Farmali in 1520 after having deserted Rānā Sāngā.⁵ Rai Bikramājīt was assigned the large *iqtā‘* of Shamsābād comprising the *parganas* of Kampīl, Patiāli and Bhogāon after he had surrendered Gwalior to the Sulān.⁶

It appears that by the year 1520, Sulān Ibrahim had sufficiently built up a faithful group of nobles, composed of the new as well as old nobles as a counterpoise to the nobles of doubtful loyalty. In fact, none of the medieval writers provide us with the actual figures of the nobles held in confidence by the Sulān, their references to them in the accounts of military expeditions and the battles indicate that the non-Afghāns were taken in a larger number than the Afghāns.⁷ But the fact that the old Afghān families remained unaffected in their *iqtā‘*s and positions in diffe-

1 *B.N.*, ii/557.

2 *B.N.*, ii/523, 538; Also Cf. *Appendix*, B.

3 *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, Shaikh Jamal Kambo, p. 138; also Cf. *Appendix*, B.

4 *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 139.

5 *W.M.*, ff. 63a-b.

6 *Appendix*, B.

7 Cf. *Appendix*, B.

rent regions create an impression that the predominance of the Afghans in the official hierarchy still remained intact.¹ In certain cases the sons or near relations in the absence of the formers were assigned the positions of the over-thrown nobles. The following examples would elucidate the point: Miān Muḥabat Khān,² son of *Masnad-i-‘āli* Husain Farmali (the latter was killed in Chanderi on account of his misconduct); Shah Muḥammad Farmālī,³ son of Ma‘ruf Farmali; ‘Alam Khān Lodi,⁴ son of Jalāl Khān Jighat and Faṭḥ Khān Sarwānī,⁵ were restored to the ranks and *iqtā‘s* of their over-thrown fathers. Likewise Dilawar Khān, son of *Masnad-i-‘āli* Bh’ūā was appointed *wazīr* in place of his father when the latter was thrown in prison.⁶

As a whole the Sulṭān was very particular in favouring the members of the old families, in case they were willing to subserve his interest with unwavering loyalty. The descendants of the faithful nobles were never treated severely. Sometimes they were shown greater privileges than their predecessors had enjoyed. The descendants of *Masnad-i-‘āli* Muḥammad Kālapahār and Khān-i Ā‘zam Jamal Khān Lodi Sārangkhānī were shown special favours, they were given the charge of new territories in addition to the previous ones. Muṣṭafā Farmali (the son in-law of Kālapahār) and his younger brother, Bayazid Farmali and Samrū were not only allowed to inherit the treasures and *iqtā‘* of their family but further additions were made to their ranks and *iqtā‘s*.⁷ Tātār Khān Sārangkhānī and Firoz Khān Sārangkhānī were entrusted with the important units such as the *sarkar* of Gwalior and the *iqtā‘* of Eisoli respectively, while their brothers already held the vilayet of Jaunpur and the *sarkar* of Chunār.⁸ (The *Mugtā‘* of the latter unit was Tāj Khān Sarang khānī).

(B) RISE OF FAMILY GROUPS

The establishment of the Lodi Empire led to the emergence of a small number of family groups on the political scene, whose members retained a predominant position throughout the period. This long spell of power enjoyed by these families and the fact that many large *iqtā‘s* continued to be held in the same family for generations was a new phenomena in

1 Cf. *Appendix*, B.

2 *W.M.*, f. 69a.

3 *Appendices*, and B.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *W.M.*, f. 63b.

6 *Tab. A.K.*; i/347.

7 *T.S.S.*, ff. 53, 54, 55; *W.M.*, f. 43a.

8 *B.N.*, ii/523; *Badaoni*, i/360.

the history of the Delhi Sūlānate. While theoretically the *iqtā'*s were still transferable, in fact, transfers were rare and the claims of sons or other relatives were considered to be of paramount importance in the event of death or removal for misconduct.

The founders of these families were mostly those nobles who had served Bahlūl since before his accession to the throne. Most of these families belonged to Shāhū Khail and Yūsuf Khail clans of the Lodi tribe; Nūhanī, Jīlwānī and Sarwānī tribes, and the non-Afghan Shaikhzādās of Farmal.

(1) SHĀHŪ KHAIL FAMILIES

Shāhū Khail, being the clan of the Sūlāns, was in a privileged position. Many members of this clan, having given full support to Bahlūl, received special favour, and it was thus possible for them to assure positions of importance to their descendants.

(i) Khān-i Jahān Lodi, the elder

A first cousin of Bahlūl, he held the *vilāyet* of Badaon. His son and grandson held the charge of Badaon till the end of the Lodi Sultanate, though during the reign of Sūlān Sikandar, the elder grandson, Ahmād Khān, suffered an eclipse and for about 5 to 6 years, Badaon was given to the nobles in the service of the family before being restored to Ahmād Khān by Sūlān Ibrāhīm.¹

(ii) Maḥmūd Khān Lodī :

Another cousin of Sūlān Bahlūl (his father's name is not known), he was assigned a large *iqtā'* by Bahlūl in the territory of Sambhal where he continued to stay till the death of Bahlūl² Lodī; Sūlān's grandson. Sūlān Sikandar entrusted *Masnad-i-‘ālī* Maḥmūd Khān Lodī with the government of Kālpī, a charge held by him till his death. He was succeeded in his rank and office by his eldest son, Jalāl Khān (also called Jalāl Khān Jīghat) while his younger sons were assigned maintenance-*iqtā'*s outside the *sarkār* of Kālpī as they did not like to remain with their elder brother. It is not known what happened to them. In 1508 Jalāl Khān was accused of misconduct and thrown into prison. In 1518 he was restored to his previous position by Sūlān Ibrāhīm. After the establishment of the Mughal Empire, Jalāl Khān's son, ‘Ālam Khān Lodī was given the *sarkār* of Kālpī, a charge held by him till 1530 when he revolted, and later fled to Gujarat.

1 Cf. Appendices, A and B.

2 *Parwāna*, issued by *Masnad-i-‘ālī* Maḥmūd Khān Lodī Shāhū Khail to Shaikh Chāilda of Amroha in 1493, contained in the *Tazkirat-ul Kirām* (being *Tarīkh-i Amroha*), ‘Abbāsī, Delhi, p. 34.

(iii) 'Aīā Khān Lodi

Another cousin of Bahlūl (father's name not known), was given the charge of Sirhind by Bahlūl. Sometime during the reign of Sikandar Lodi, 'Aīā Khān's son, Babban was the governor of the *sarkār* of Sirhind. He held the charge till the time of Bābur's invasion.¹

(iv) Prince 'Ālam Khān Lodi

A younger son of Sulān Bahlūl, he had received the *iqtā'* of Rapri for his maintenance. On his father's death, he joined hands with 'Isa Khān Lodī, son of Tātār Khān Yūsūf Khail, a staunch supporter of Prince Āzam Humāyūn for the throne of Delhi. Soon afterwards he was won over to the side of Sulān Sikandar and got the charge of the *sarkār* of Etāwāh. He later fled to Gujarāt to seek the help of Sulān Müzaffar for his claim to throne. Subsequently, during the reign of Sulān Ibrāhīm, he was invited to the Punjab by the Afghān nobles hostile to Ibrāhīm. However, his eldest son, *Masnad-i-'ālī* Bhikan Khān remained in the service of Sulān Sikandar and was therefore given the charge of Etāwāh *sarkār* instead of his father.

Towards the close of Sulān Sikandar's reign, Bhikan Khān lost his privileged position for a short time due to the hostility of his younger brother, Khizr Khān Lodī. The latter poisoned the royal ears against his elder brother and secured for himself the post of the *Mūqta'* of Etāwāh. But Bhikan Khān, being a favourite of Sulān Ibrāhīm, was restored to his previous position soon after the latter's accession.²

(2) YŪSŪF KHAIL FAMILIES

As a branch of the Lodi tribe, the Yūsūf Khail clan expected special favours;³ two important Yūsūf Khail families (of Tātār Khān Yūsūf Khail and Mübarak Khān Yūsūf Khail) continued to enjoy high ranks throughout the Lodi period.

(i) Tātār Khān Yūsūf Khail

Being an old follower of Bahlūl, he was assigned the charge of all the north-western territories beyond the river Sutlej with a rank of 15,000 *sawārs*. Later he was killed by Prince Nizām Khān for having assumed an air of independence during the last years of Bahlūl's reign. But his sons continued to retain important territories elsewhere.

His eldest son, 'Isā Khān Lodī held a large *iqtā'* consisting of the *parganas* of Shamsabad, Patiali, Kampil and Bhogaon. As a supporter of Prince Āzam Humāyūn he challenged Sikandar's claim to the throne

1 Cf. *Appendices*, A and B.

2 Cf. *Appendices*, A and B.

3 W.M., f. 62b.

and fought a battle against him in which he was defeated with serious wounds. Sūlān Sikandar pardoned him but he could not recover his position.

His younger brother, Daulat Khān Lodī enjoyed the confidence of Sikandar, who appointed him as the *Mūqta'* of the border *sarkār* of Lahore where Tātār Khān had served for long. Daulat Khān held the territory till the time of Bābur's invasion. His eldest son, 'Alī Khān governed the *sarkār* of Bhera.¹

(ii) Mūbarak Khān Yūsuf Khail

During Bahlūl's reign, he was assigned an *iqtā'* in the *sarkār* of Lucknow under the command of Prince Āzam Humāyūn. On Bahlūl's death, Sūlān Sikandar gave him independent charge of the *Sarkār* of Lucknow as its *Mūqta'*. He was survived by four sons and two of them are known to have governed their father's *sarkār* successively. His eldest son and immediate successor, Ahmād Khān was imprisoned by the order of Sūlān Sikandar on the charge of adopting Hindu religious practices under the influence of certain mendicants. His younger brother, Sa'id Khān was allowed to succeed him in his *iqtā'*, rank and office. Sa'id Khān enjoyed his new position from 1509-19 when he was arrested for having fought with Islām Khān Sarwānī (son of Āzam Humāyūn, the *Mūqta'* of Kara) against the army of Sūlān Ibrāhīm Lodi. Thereafter, his elder brother, Ahmād Khān was reinstated² in Lucknow.

(3) THE SĀRANG KHĀNĪ FAMILY

Jamāl Khān Lodī, commonly known as Sārang Khānī,³ was an old follower of Bahlūl. He held the city of Hisār Firūzā during Bahlūl's reign but during the reign of Sikandar, he was given the charge of the extensive *vilayet* of Jaunpur, with a rank of 15,000 *sawārs* and the title of Khān 'Āzam. Even in his life-time, his second son, Tāj Khān Sārang Khānī was assigned the charge of the impregnable fort of Chunār. On the death of Jamāl Khān, his eldest son, Ahmād Khān succeeded to his title, office and *iqtā'*, while his rank was raised by 15,000 *sawars* to 20,000. During Sūlān Ibrāhīm's reign, Ahmād Khān's son, Lād Khān, held the charge of the *vilayet* of Jaunpur, with the family title of Khān 'Āzam.

Two other descendants of Jamāl Khān Tātār Khān Sārang Khānī and Firūz Khān Sārang Khānī held the territory of Gwalior and the fort of

1 Cf. *Appendices*, A and B.

2 Cf. *Appendices*, A and B

3 See *Supra*.

Issauli (in Awadh)¹ respectively during the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodī.

(4) NŪHĀNĪ FAMILIES

(i) Mūbārak Khān Nūhānī, son of *Masnad-i-‘āli ‘Azam Humāyūn*.² *Masnad-i-‘āli* Mūbarak Khān Nūhānī was the son of *Masnad-i-‘āli Āzam Humāyūn Nūhānī*, an old noble of Islām Khān Lodi and Sulṭān Bahlūl. Mūbārak Khān was first given the charge of the *vilayet* of Jaunpur in 1479, but he failed to withstand the attack of Sulṭān Hūsain Sharqi, which took place soon after his posting there. He was, thereupon, transferred to the *vilāyet* of Kara and Mānikpūr. Mūbarak Khān's eldest son, Ibrāhīm Khān was the *Muqtā‘* of the *sarkār* of Etawah, independent of his father, and he continued to hold it till Bahlūl's death.

On Bahlul's death, *Masnad-i-‘āli* Mūbarak Khān Nūhānī supported Prince Bārbak Shāh for the throne and was taken prisoner in the battle, fought between the rival princes. But Sulṭān Sikandar pardoned and reinstated him in Kara, probably for the sake of his sons, Nāṣir Khān and Dariyā Khān (who were the staunch supporters of Sikandar). A few years after his reinstatement, Mūbarak Khān died at an old age.

On Mūbarak Khān's death his second son, Nāṣir Khān claimed either Kara or Jaunpur *sarkārs* which had been held by his father. But Sulṭān Sikandar did not accept the claim and gave to Nāṣir Khān the charge of the *sarkār* of Ghazīpur. His eldest son, Ibrāhīm was assigned an *iqtā‘* for his maintenance elsewhere. Mūbarak Khān's third son, Dariya Khān was appointed as the *Muqtā‘* of Bihar. On the latter's death, his son, Bahār Khān assumed independence under the title of Sulṭān Mūhammad Shāh and defied the authority of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodi.³

(ii) Khān Khānān Nūhānī

No information is available regarding his name, rank and the *iqtā‘*, which he held during Bahlūl's reign. But from his high title, it is obvious that he enjoyed an exalted position in the official hierarchy. On Bahlūl's death, Sulṭān Sikandar posted him in Rapri⁴ as it then bordered the

1 Appendices, A and B.

2 Cf. *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments* Delhi jail, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 26,66.

3 Appendices, A and B.

4 The evidence available shows that the *iqtā‘* of Rapri, being an important administrative unit and including the *paraganas* from Chandwar to Rapri, was generally given to a prominent noble since the time of Mūhammad bin Tūghluq. The main responsibility of *Muqtā‘* was to control the powerful *zamindārs* of the central Doāb. Inside this *iqtā‘* the forts of Chandwar and Rapri were famous for their strong defences. Cf. *Evolution of the Vilayet, the Shiqq and the Sarkar during the Sultanate Period*, Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, 1963.

territories of his rivals, Bārbak Shāh and Āżam Humāyūn Lodi. Khān Khānān Nūhāni continued to hold the *iqtā'* of Rapri till his death during Sulṭān Ibrāhim's reign. He was succeeded by his son, Husain Khān Nūhāni in his *iqtā'* and rank and held the position till the fall of the Lodī empire.

(5) SARWĀNĪ FAMILIES

Being closely associated with the family of Bahlūl Lodi since the time of Islām Khān Lodi, the Khān Ā'zam was assigned a large maintenance *iqtā'*, comprising the *parganas* of Shahabad, Banur, Pail, etc. in the *Sarkār* of Sirhind. Later, he was also entrusted with the administration of the *Sarkār* of Lahore after the suppression of Tātār Khān Yūsūf Khāil. In addition to these responsibilities he held the office of *Diwān-i Wizārat* till he died in 1495.

His eldest son, Sa'íd Khān was honoured with his father's title and the charge of the *sarkār* of Lahore. His second son, Haibat Khān Sarwānī obtained the charge of his father's *iqtā'* in the *Sarkar* of Sirhind, while two other sons, Ibrāhim Khān Sarwanī and Bābū Khān Sarwanī were assigned separate *iqtā'*s for their maintenance elsewhere.

In the year 1500 all the sons of 'Umar Khān Sarwānī, except Ibrāhim Khān, were exiled from the Lodi Sulṭānate as they were involved in a conspiracy against Sulṭān Sikāndar Lodi. Ibrāhim Khān Sarwānī retained his position till he was killed fighting against Rānā Sāngā during Ibrāhim Lodi's reign. S'aíd Khān Sarwanī and Haibat Khān Sarwanī appear to have died in Malwa where they had sought refuge.¹ On Sulṭān Sikandar's death Bābu Khān Sarwānī and 'Isā Khān Sarwanī, son of Haibat Khān Sarwānī returned to Agra where Sulṭān Ibrāhim received them with favour, though they did not receive any *iqtā'* in the territories which had been held by 'Umar Khān. 'Isā Khān Sarwānī was given the charge of the government of Delhi and an *iqtā'* which included Thanesar. Bābū Khān Sarwānī was given a maintenance-*iqtā'* in the *Sarkār* of Kol. On Sulṭān Ibrāhim Lodi's fall in 1526, Bābū Khān Sarwānī retired from political life and settled down at Islampūr, a village which he had founded in his *iqtā'*, where he died after a few years.²

(ii) Dilāwar Khān Sarwānī

Although an old follower of Sulṭān Bahlūl, the details of his career

1 T.S.S., f. 88.

2 Cf. *Appendices*, A and B; W.M., f. 102b.

Islāmpur is stated to be a village near Pilakhna in the *sarkār* of Kol. No village of that name survives, though Sikandarpūr on the banks of Kālī Nadī at a short distance from Pilakhna in the Aligarh District, the probable site of Sikandar Lodi's accession, still exists.

are not available. However, Sulān Sikandar honoured his son, Ahmad Khān with the title of Āzam Humāyūn Sarwānī and on the death of Mubārak Khān Nūhanī, posted him to the *vilayet* of Kara and Manikpur as its *Mūqīā'* with a high rank of 45,000 *sawārs*. However, Āzam Humāyūn Sarwānī failed to retain the confidence of Sulān Ibrāhim Lodī, and was imprisoned along with his elder son, Fath Khān in 1518-19. Thereupon his younger son, Islām Khān Sarwānī rose in rebellion against the Sulān and gathered a large army. But he was defeated and killed with many of his supporters.

Āzam Humāyūn Sarwānī died in prison after a few years but Fath Khān was released and restored to his father's *iqlā'* in the *vilayet* of Kara and Manikpūr on the intercession of Mian Husain Farmali. After his reinstatement Fath Khān joined hands with Bahār Khān Nūhanī (later Sulān Mūhammad Nūhanī), who had rebelled against Sulān Ibrāhim. Fath Khān Sarwānī survived till the reign of Sher Shāh.¹

(6) JILWĀNĪ FAMILIES

(i) Yūsūf Khān Jilwānī

An old follower of Islām Khān Lodī, it appears that he died soon after Bahlūl's accession to the throne of Delhi in 1451. His eldest son, Ahmad Khān Jilwānī was entrusted with the charge of the *Sarkār* of Bayana in the early years of Bahlūl's reign. Subsequently Ahmad Khān repudiated his allegiance to Bahlūl in favour of Sulān Hūsain Sharqī who had challenged the Afghān occupation of Delhi. But Sulān Bahlūl pardoned and restored him to his old position after he had overcome Sulān Hūsain Sharqī. During Sikandar Lodī's reign, he again rebelled and even assumed the title of Sulān but died soon after. Thereupon his son, Ashraf claimed the title of Sulān. Sulān Sikandar surrounded him in Bayāna, and even offered him Shamsābad in exchange for Bayana, but Ashraf refused. He was, however, defeated and exiled.²

(7) KĀKAR FAMILIES

(i) Firūz Kākar

An immigrant from Roh, he joined Bahlūl's service in 1452, and was assigned fifty villages in *Sarkar* of Sirhind for his maintenance. He died towards the close of Bahlūl's reign and was succeeded by his son, Lūqmān, in his small *iqtā'*. During the time of Sulān Sikandar, he was

1 Cf. Appendices, A and B.

2 Cf. Appendices, A and B.

raised to the position of a *malik* and assigned the *pargana* of Etawah as his maintenance-*iqtā'*. Later, he was given the *parganas* of Sāmana and Sunnām with an increase in his rank. On Malik Lūqmān's death, his son, Bustān was allowed by Sulṭān Sikandar to retain his *iqtā'* and rank. The latter continued to hold his position till the fall of the Lodī Empire.¹

It may also be stated that the descendants of Firuz Kākar are not to be considered more than second-rate nobles in the nobility inspite of their association with the successors of Bahlūl. None of them is reported to have attained to a position above that of a *malik*. However, their descendants were included among the highest nobles under the Surs.

(ii) Malik Ādam Kakār

Ādam Kakār, who was famous for his position at the court of Sulṭān Sikandar. According to Mūshṭaqī and Ni'matullāh, he was the only noble whom Sulṭān Sikandar had honoured with a seat below the throne in the *darbār*. Ādam Kakār continued to enjoy the position under Sulṭān Ibrāhīm also. The latter entrusted him with the charge of the capital city of Agra in 1517 to guard against the attack of Prince Jalāl Khān, the rival of Ibrāhīm Lodī. On Malik Ādam's death his son, Sikandar Kakār was given the charge of his father's *iqtā'* and rank.² The territory where Malik Ādam Kakār held his *iqtā'* is not known, but since he was buried in Lucknow, and since during the reign of Akbar, Malik Ādam began to be venerated as a saint and his grandson became the *Sajjāda-nashīn* of the tomb,³ it is possible that the family *iqtā'* had been in Lucknow.

(8) FARMALĪ FAMILIES

(i) Miān Muhammad Farmali, known as Kālāpahār

His father (whose name is not known) was an old follower of Islam Khān Lodī and was married to Bahlūl's sister, and, presumably held an influential position at the royal court like the other relations of Bahlūl. He is reported to have bequeathed a large amount of money to his sons, Miān Muhammad and Tātār Khān. Miān Muhammad Kālāpahār was assigned the charge of the *vilayet* of Awadh by Sulṭān Bahlūl, while Tātār Khān held Merhera as his maintenance-*iqtā'*. During Sulṭān Sikandar's reign Miān Muhammad was allowed to bring the *sarkārs* of Bahraich and Sarwar (Gorakhpur) under his control as he had seized them from the nobles of Sulṭān Husain Sharqī. But Tātār

1 Appendices, A and B.

2 Cf. Appendices, A and B.

3 Badāūnī, III.

Khān was exiled from the Lodi Sultanate along with the sons of Khān Āzam 'Umar Khān Sarwānī for his involvement in the conspiracy already mentioned.

Miān Muḥammad Kālāpahār is said to have died during the early years of the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, and was succeeded in his *iqtā'*, rank and position by his nephew and son-in-law, Miān Muṣṭafā Farmalī. Miān Muḥammad's only son, Samru (born of a slave girl) whose parentage was doubted by the near relations, was assigned a separate *iqtā'* in Awadh. The famous Bāyazīd Farmalī, a sworn enemy of the Mughal rule in India was Miān Muṣṭafā's younger brother. As Miān Muṣṭafā Farmalī died on his march to Bihar against the rebels, the charge of the army was made over to Miān Bāyazīd as the successor of his elder brother. On the fall of Ibrahim Lodī, Bābur tried to win over Bayazīd but the latter attached himself to the cause of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Lodī and was killed fighting against Humāyūn in the battle of Dohra in 1531.

(ii) *Masnad-i-'ālī Khwaja Sa'id Farmalī*

Being a man of culture and wide experience, he was held in esteem by Bahlūl. He was given a large *iqtā'* (consisting of the *parganas* of Dasuya, Hariana, etc.) in the *Sarkār* of Sirhind and was also honoured with the tutelage of prince Niẓām Khān (later Sulṭān Sikandar). On Sulṭān Sikandar's accession, Khwaja Sa'id Farmalī's influence increased considerably. His eldest son, Miān Maḥmūd, called Todar Mal was also a close associate of the Sulṭān and got a rank independently of his father. Khwaja Sa'id's second son, Shaikh Muḥammad succeeded him in his *iqtā'* and rank after his death during Sikandar's reign. Both the brothers continued to enjoy their privileged positions till 1526.

(iii) *Gada'i Farmalī*

Like his other Farmalī relatives, Miān Gada'i Farmalī was a high noble and held the charge of the *sarkar* of Qanauj during Bahlūl's reign. He died during the early years of Sikandar's reign and was succeeded in his *iqtā'*, rank and position by his eldest son, Miān Ma'rūf Farmalī. Miān Gadai's second son, Miān Tāhā Farmalī, who was famous for his culture and learning, was a favourite courtier of Sulṭān Sikandar and held a separate rank. But they could not retain their influence after the death of Sulṭān Sikandar. Both of them, along-with Miān Husain Farmalī and a number of other nobles, deserted to Rānā Sāngā in 1522 as they were not willing to fight under the leadership of Miān Makkan whom Sulṭān Ibrāhīm had honoured with the supreme command of the army, deputed against Rānā Sāngā. As dissensions broke out between them and the Rānā soon afterwards, they returned to the Sulṭān, who reinstated them in their previous positions. But Miān Ma'rūf was unstable in his loyalty; he again rose in rebellion against Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and was therefore driven away

from Qanauj. However, his eldest son, Shāh Muḥammad Farmalī remained attached to the Sulṭān and was favoured with the *iqtā'* and position of his father.¹

(iv) Khān Khānān Farmalī

He was one of the prominent nobles but information about his name, early career and the territory where he held his *iqtā'* under Sulṭān Bahlūl has not been furnished by the medieval writers. On Bahlūl's death he, alongwith Khān Jahān Lodī supported the cause of Prince Nizām Khān for his succession to the throne and succeeded in this purpose against the wishes of the Afghān nobles present in the royal camp near Jalāli. In recognition of his services, Sulṭān Sikandar always showed consideration to him. In 1491 the Sulṭān entrusted him with the charge of the *Sarkār* of Bayana which he held till his death in 1500. His sons, Miān Imad, Mian Sulaimān and Shaikh 'Uṣmān were allowed to remain in Bayānā as their father's successors but they insisted on being assigned separate *iqtā'*s elsewhere. The Sulṭān conceded to their demand and gave them maintenance-*iqtā'*s in the *sarkārs* of Sirhind and Hisār Firūza. Though Miān Sulaimān Farmalī lost the royal confidence and was denied attendance at the royal court for his misconduct, the Sulṭān neither reduced his rank of 6000 *sawārs* nor took away his *iqtā'* (*pargana* of Indri). In short, the descendants of Khān Khānān Farmalī retained their positions till the fall of the Lodi Empire.¹

(v) Miān Husain Farmalī, known as Jalkhet

He served as a petty officer under Sulṭān Bahlūl and could not get any substantial post in the administration inspite of his close relation with the high Farmalī nobles. But he rose to prominence during the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar who posted him to the *Sarkar* of Sāran with a large rank after it had been seized from the Sharqi nobles. Shortly afterwards, Miān Husain seized the territory of Champāran from its pro-Sharqī Raja and brought it under his control. The Sulṭān allowed him to treat it as an increase in his *iqtā'* as a reward.

Towards the close of Sikandar's reign, Miān Husain lost the royal confidence. The Sulṭān sent Hājī Sārang Khan to Sāran to win over Miān Husain's officers secretly and then arrest him. Miān Husain got perception of that matter and fled away to Bengal. On Sikandar's death, he returned to Agra where Sulṭān Ibrāhīm deputed him to fight against Rānā Sāngā under the command of Miān Makkan in 1522. As he considered it derogatory for him to fight under Miān Makkan, he deserted to Rānā Sāngā and also took away many other nobles with him. But he could not remain with the Rānā for his quarrel and again joined Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. The Sulṭān entrusted him with

¹ Cf Appendices, A and B.

the charge of the *Sarkar* of Chanderī. In Chanderī the local Shaikh-zādas killed him at the instance of Sultān Ibrāhim. After him, his son Mi'ān Maḥābat was given his rank and position. The (*iqtā'* assigned to Mian Maḥābat is not known).¹

(9) OTHER MUSLIM FAMILIES

(i) Ahmed Khān Mewātī

A descendant of Bahadur Khān Nahīr who was the chief of Mewāt during the reign of Sūlān Firuz Shāh (Tughlaq), was forced by Sūlān Bahlūl into submissioin in 1452. He had, thereupon, to cede seven *parganās* and depute his uncle, Mubārak Khān to remain in attendance upon the hinge on his behalf (as already mentioned). He soon won the confidence of the Sultān which he and his descendants continued to enjoy till the end. His son and grandson, 'Atāwal Khān and Hasan Khān governed their ancestral *vilayet* during the reigns of Sultān Sikandar and Sultān Ibrāhim. It appears that they had to pay only a nominal amount of money annually to the Sūlān although the *vilayet* yielded a revenue of 1,69,81,000 tankas.² Hasan Khān Mewātī was killed in the battle of Khanwa, fighting against Bābur.

(ii) 'Alī Khān Turkbachā

He held the territory of Kol when Sūlān Bahlūl occupied the throne of Delhi in 1451. Despite the wavering attitude of 'Alī Khān and his son, Rūstam Khān during the years of conflict between Bahlūl and the Sharqī Sūlāns, their descendants continued to be in prominent positions throughout the Lodi period. Ilyās Khān, grandson of Rustam Khān held an *iqtā'* of considerable size in the *sarkar* of Kol. It appears that although the charge of the city of Kol along with its fort continued to be held by different nobles, the maintenance-*iqtā'* of the Turkbachās remained untransferred.³

(iii) Masnad-i-'ālī Khawwas Khān

He held the town of Machhiwara under Sūlān Bahlūl. During the early years of Sikandar's reign, he was entrusted with the government of Delhi and the office of *Wazir-i Müllaq*. His younger son, Mi'ān Ismā'il carried on the administration of Delhi territory on his behalf, while the *Masnad-i-'ālī* looked after the affairs of the department of *Wizārat*. On the death of Khān-i Khānān Farmali, Khawwās Khān was appointed as the *Müqātā'* of Bayana. His eldest son, Mi'ān Bh'uā succeeded him as *Wazir-i Müllaq* after his death; Mi'ān Bh'uā held

1 Cf. *Appendices*, A and B.

2 Cf. *Bābur Nāma*, ii/545, 577-8, hereafter quoted as *B. N.* and *Appendices*, A and B.

3 *Appendices* A and B.

parganas and villages in various territories as his maintenance-*iqtā'*. As *Masnad-i-‘ālī Mi‘ān Bhū’ā* could not enjoy the confidence of *Sulṭān Ibrāhīm*, he was thrown into prison where he died soon after. But it is interesting to note that the *wizārat* and his *iqtā'* were given to his son, *Dilāwar Khān*.¹

Thus it may be seen that a small number of the old families dominated the political scene practically throughout the Lodi period. The office of *Wazīr*, high ranks (the military ranks, held by the members of the respectable families varied from 6000 to 30,000 *sawārs*), large *iqtā'*s and the administrative charge of most of the important territories tended to be passed on from father to son in the same twenty families (mentioned above) for generations.

The factors responsible for the rise of these families were manifold. Before *Bahlūl* the *Sulṭāns* had to contend with the ambitions of nobles, desirous of exercising greater autonomy and even independence. *Bahlūl* seems to have thought that if he could build up a new nobility, comprising primarily of his own kinsmen and assured of enjoying enormous power by remaining loyal to the throne, he would be able not only to consolidate his authority but also build up his military power. With this new nobility he wished to maintain the most cordial and friendly relations, assuming of course, that their loyalty was not in doubt. On *Sikandar*'s accession, the families of *Bahlūl*'s old nobles were well-established in different regions. The civil war, fought between *Sikandar* and his rivals for the throne, led to the fall of certain individuals, but by and large other members of the family joined the winning side. *Sikandar* was thus enabled to retain the backing of most of these powerful families. With the passage of time the position of these families was sanctified by tradition. Gradually, and inevitably, matrimonial alliances and traditions of friendship further consolidated the position of these families.²

The conquest of new territories from time to time, added further glory to these families. Generally their members were entrusted with the government of the new territories, for they were supposed to have had gathered sufficient experience in administration as well as in warfare.

However, the hold of a small number of families over vast territories and the monopoly of power, enjoyed by their members at the court,

1 *Appendices A and B.*

2 The Afghāns of high families married in other Afghān families, irrespective of tribe or clan. But the Farmalīs were very sensitive in this matter. They did not give their daughters in marriage outside their own Farmalī families. *Afsānāh-i Shāhān, Shaikh Kabir*, Rotograph of the Ms. in British Museum, London, f. 41b; W.M., 5b.

were by no means favourable to the state in the long run. It had narrowed down the chances of the rise of able persons occupying inferior positions. The smaller nobles, who happened to attract royal attention by sheer dint of merit, could attain, at the most, the rank of malik; but not of Khān.

The very stability enjoyed by these families made them feel that they held their position as a matter of right and not by the grace of the Sultān.

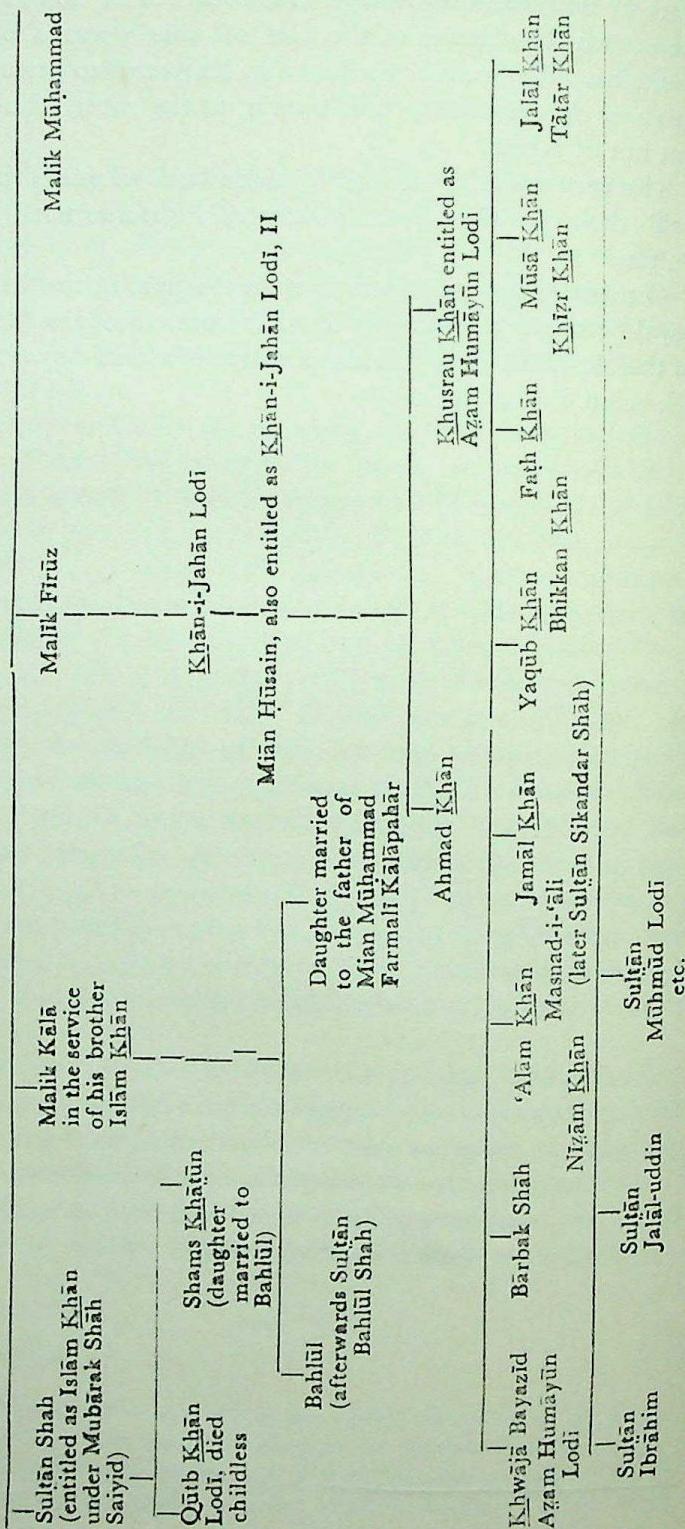
Consequently, any attempt on the part of the Sultān to strengthen royal power at the expense of what were considered to be the interest of the old family, could raise a storm of cloud as was witnessed during the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodi.¹

1 *Some Aspects of Afghān Despotism in India, op. cit.* pp. 38-55.

APPENDIX-A

SHAHU KHAIL FAMILY DURING THE LODI PERIOD

(1) Malik Bahārām Lodi



(2) Tatār Khān Lodi (Yūsūf Khail)

He held the rank of 15,000 *sawārs* with the charge of the territories beyond the Sutlej river.

Daulat Khān Lodi
(*Masnad-i-āli*)
He was assigned the
charge of Lahore
Sarkār in 1499 A.D.
by Sl. Sikandar.

'Isā Khān Lodi
(He held the *iqtā'* of
Shamsābād, Pātiālī,
Kampil and Bhogāon)

'Ali Khān
(*Mūqṭā'* of the *sarkār*
of Bherā)

Ghazi Khān

Dilāwar Khān etc.

(3) Dariya Khān Lodi

The *hatim* of the *Sarkār* of Sambhal since the period of Sultan Mubarak Shāh Saiyid.

Tatār Khān Lodi

(He succeeded his father during Bahlūl's reign but shortly afterwards fell prisoner into the hands of Sultan Husain Sharqī in 1478 A.D. Since then this old Afghān house seems to have been wiped out.)

(4) Jamāl Khān Sārang Khāni (Lodi)

(*Mūqṭā'* of Hiṣār Firūza under Bahlūl and the *Mūqṭā'* of the Jaūnpūr *vilayet* under Sl. Sikandar.

Ahmad Khān
(*Mūqṭā'* of
Jaūnpūr after
his father)

Tatār Khān Sārangkhāni
(Gwalior under
Sl. Ibrāhīm Lodi)

Taj Khān
(*Mūqṭā'* of
Chunār)

Lad Khān (*Mūqṭā'* of
Jaūnpūr *vilayet* during
Ibrāhīm's reign).

Firoz Khān Sarangkhāni

(5) Mubārak Khān Lodi (Yūsūf Khail)

Mūqṭā' of the *Sarkār* of Lucknow under Sl. Sikandar

Ahmad Khān
(succeeded his
father in his
office and
iqtā' and
remained in
Lucknow till
1509 A. D.)

Masnad-i-āli Ibrāhīm Khān

Sa'īd Khān

Shaikh Jān

Muhammad Khān

(6) Masnad-i-āli Mahmūd Khān Lodi (Shāhu Khail)
(*Mūqṭā'* of Kālpī Under Sl. Sikandar)

Masnad-i-āli Jalāl Khān

Bhikkān Khān

Hājī Khān

(*Mūqṭā'* of Kālpī under Sultan Ibrāhīm)

'Alam Khān Lodi

(*Mūqṭā'* of Kālpī during Bābur's reign)

Āzam Humāyūn Lodi

(Under Sher Shāh)

NŪHĀNĪ FAMILIES

Masnad-i-'āli Āzam Humāyūn Nūhānī

Masnad-i-'āli Mubārak Khān Nūhānī
 Müqtā' of Karā and
 Mānikpur under
 Bahlūl and Sikandar)

Sher Khān Nūhānī

Ibrāhīm Khān

Nasīr Khān
 (Müqtā' of Ghazipūr
 under Sikandar and
 Ibrāhīm)

Dariyā Khān (Müqtā' of Bihār)
 Bahar Khān
 (later Sultān Mūhammad in
 Bihar)

Khān-i-Khānan Nūhānī
 Müqtā' of Rāprī under Sikandar and Ibrāhīm Lodi

Husain Khān
 (Succeeded his father
 in his iqṭā' and rank
 during Ibrāhīm Lodi's reign.)

Mahmūd Khān
 (He turned rebel to
 Sultān Ibrāhīm
 after his father's
 death).

Mā'rūf Nūhānī²
 (Under Sikandar and Ibrāhīm)

Dariyā Khān
 (title not known.)

'Alaud'din

Haibat Khān

All the three brothers were killed fighting against Rānā Sāngā in the battle of Kambhīr.

THE SARWĀNĪ FAMILIES

Khān-i-Āzam 'Umar Khān Sarwānī³

Masnad-i-'āli Ibrāhīm Khān

Sa'īd Khān

Bābu Khān
Sārwānī

Haibat Khān
 (Masnad-i-'āli)
 'Isā Khān under Sl.
 Ibrāhīm & the Surs)

Kamāl Khān
 (under Sl. Ibrāhīm and
 the Surs).

Dariyā Khān Sarwānī

Khzir Khān

Sulaimān

Dariyā Khān Sarwānī seems to have been one of the high nobles under Sultān Bahlūl, for his sons were holding good positions during the early years of Sultān Sikandar's reign. They fell out of the royal favour in 1498 A. D. for their indiscipline and lack of manners displayed in the royal presence.

1 See Appendix B, for the details about Khān-i-Khānan Nūhānī and his descendants.

2 Wāqiāt-i-Mushtāqī, f. 61b.

The sons of Mā'rūf Nūhānī are mentioned as important nobles of Sultān Ibrāhīm but the ranks of Mā'rūf Nūhānī and his descendants have not been mentioned.

3 See Appendix B.

Dilāwar Khān Sarwānī

Masnad-i-‘ālī Āzam Humāyūn Sarwānī (former Miān Ahmad Khān)
(Mūqātā of Karā and Mānikpur under Sikandar)

Fath Khān

Mūqātā of Karā and Mānikpur under Ibrāhīm)

Islām Khān

JILWĀNĪ FAMILIES

Yūsūf Khān Jilwānī

Ahmad Khān
(Mūqātā of Biyānā under
Sl. Bahlūl).

‘Ali Khān
(His iqātā and rank
are not known).

Sultān Ashraf

(Who succeeded his father during the early years of Sikandar's reign and assumed the title of Sultān independent of the Sultān of Delhi).¹

Malik ‘Alā u'd-dīn Jilwānī
(Under Bahlūl and Sikandar)

Malik Ismā‘il Jilwānī
(Under Sikandar and Ibrāhīm)

Malik Rāo Hūsain Jilwānī
(Under Ibrāhīm Lodi ahd the Surs)

Badr-u'd-din Jilwānī
(nothing is known about his family background).

KĀKAR FAMILIES

Firūz Kākar
(Under Bahlūl)

Malik Lūqmān Kākar
(Under Bahlūl and Sikandar)

Malik Būstān
(Under Sikandar and Ibrāhīm)

1 Cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, pp. 2,31.

THE FARMALI FAMILIES

The father of Mi'an Muhammad Farmali, married to Bahlul's sister.

Masnad-i-'ali Mi'an Muhammad Farmali

Kalapahar (*Muqtā'* of Awadh and Bahraich *Sarkārs*)

Fath Malikā

(daughter married to
Mi'an Müstafā Farmali)

Samrū

(born of a slave
girl)

Tatār Khān (*Muqtā'*
of Marhera)

Mi'an Müstafā

(successor of Mi'an
Muhammad Farmali and
died during Ibrāhim's
reign)

Mi'an Bayazid

(a famous anti-Mughal
noble who was killed
fighting against Humā-
yūn in 1531 A.D.)

Masnad-i-'ali Khwājā Sa'id Farmali

(under Bahlul and Sikandar)

Mi'an Mahmūd : known as
Todar Mai
(under Sikandar-
Sher Shah Sur)

Shaikh Muhammad

Masnad-i-'ali Gadā'i Farmali
(*Muqtā'* of Qanauj under Bahlul and Sikandar)

Mi'an Ma'rūf
(*Muqtā'* of Qanauj under Sikandar and Ibrāhim)

Mi'an Tāh
under Sikandar and Ibrāhim

Shāh Muhammad Farmali
(under Ibrāhim, Babūr,
Humāyūn and the Surs)

Masnad-i-'ali Khān-i-Khānān Farmali
(*Muqtā'* of Bayāna under Bahlul and Sikandar)

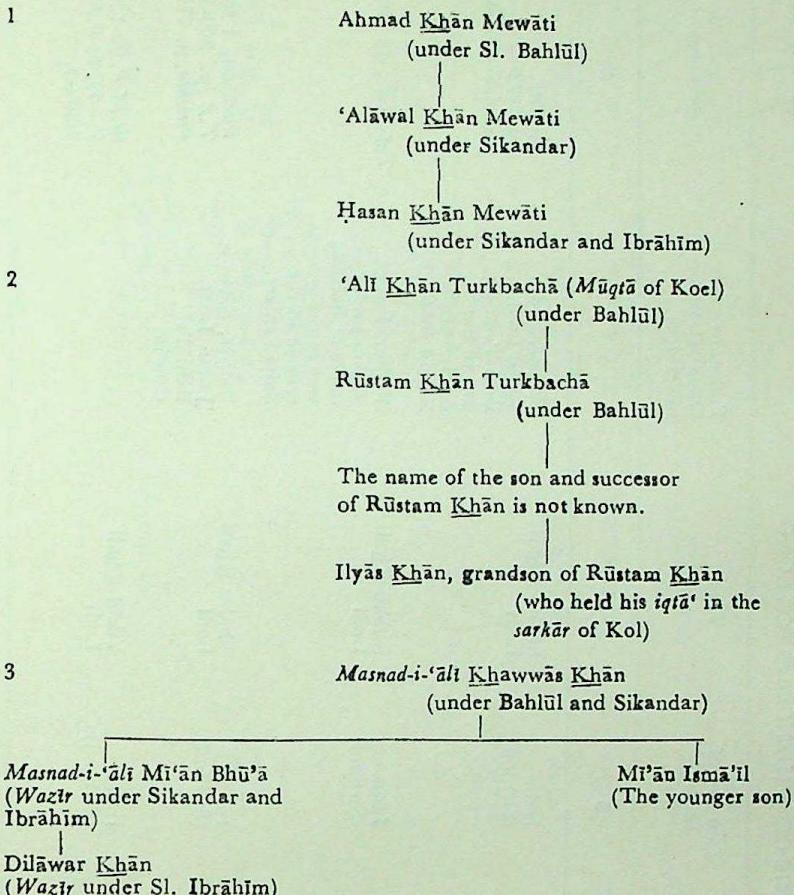
Mi'an 'Imād
under Sikandar
(and Ibrāhim)

Shaikh 'Usmān

Mi'an Sūlaimān
(under Sikandar
and Ibrāhim)

Shaikh Jamāl

THE IMPORTANT INDO-MUSLIM FAMILIES



APPENDIX - B

THE LODI NOBLES WHO WERE EITHER RELATED TO SULTĀN BAHLŪL OR ENJOYED
HIS CONFIDENCES SINCE LONG

Name with title	Rank and iqāṭ	Country of birth	Tribe	Father or other blood relation in service.	References
1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Qūtb Khān Lodi		India (Sirhind)	Shāhū Khail Lodi	Father, Isām Khan Lodi, Bahlūl's uncle was in the service of the Sayyid rulers.	<i>Firishīa</i> , i/p. 173 <i>Tab-A.K.</i> , i/294-5.
2 Khān-i-Jahān Lodi	12,000 <i>sawārs</i> and the <i>sarkār</i> of Bādāon	India (Sirhind)	Shāhū Khail Lodi	Father, Firuz Khan, junior uncle of Bahlūl was in the service of the Sayyid rulers.	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , i/p. 310
3 Husain Khān, entitled after his father's death as Khān-i-Jahān Lodi	12,000 <i>sawārs</i> and the <i>sarkār</i> of Bādāon	India (Sirhind)	Shāhū Khail Lodi	Father, Khān-i-Jahān Lodi, Bahlūl's Cousin.	<i>Badr'oni</i> , i/309 <i>T.A./P.</i> 309-10 <i>Firishīa</i> , p. 178.
4 Tātār Khān	15,000 <i>sawārs</i> and the territories beyond the river Sutlej.	India (Sirhind)	Yūsūf Khail Lodi		<i>W.M.F.</i> 9b-10a, <i>F.</i> 49, 6, <i>B.N.</i> , i/382-3.

1	2	3	4	5	6
5 'Isā Khān	Patiālī, Kampli and Bhogīon	India	Lodi (Yūsūf Khail)	His father was Tātār Khān, in Bahūlī's service since the time the latter was the 'Mīqā' of Sirhind.	T. A. p. 315 <i>Tab-A.K., i/166,</i> 302.
6 Qūtb Khān Afghan	Rāpī and Chandwār	India (Rāpri)		A descendant of Khuttab Afghān of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign and the son of Husain Khān.	<i>W.M. ff. 5-6a</i> <i>Tab-A.K., i/302.</i>
7 Dariyā Khān	Khitīai Sambhal	India	Lodi	His brother, Ilahadad Khān was in the service of the Sayyid rulers	
8. Tātār Khān	Khitīai Sambhal	India (Sambhal)	Lodi	Father, Draiyyā Khān Lodi of Sambhal	<i>Badaoni, p. 309</i> <i>Tab-A.K., i/307,</i> 309.
9 Bārbak Shāh	Jaunpūr	India	Shāhū Khail Lodi	Prince of the blood	<i>T.K.J. p. 166.</i> <i>Tab-A.K., i/312</i>
10 Āzam Humayūn	Kālpī	India	Shāhū Khail Lodi	Grandson of Bahūlī and the son of Bayyāzid.	<i>Tab-A.K., i/312,</i> 313; pp. 312-3. <i>T.K.J. i/167</i>
11 'Ālam Khām	Rāpī and Chandwār	India	Shāhū Khail Lodi	Son of Sulām Bahūlī	<i>T.K.J. p. 172</i> <i>Tab-A.K., p. 315</i>
12 Prince Nizām Khān	Delhi	India	Shāhū Khail Lodi	Sultān Bahūlī	<i>W.M. F. 9b.</i>
13 Jamal Khān	Hisar Firuzā		Lodi (Known as Sārang Khāni)		<i>T.S.S. F.6.</i>

THE NŪHĀNI NOBLES

1	2	3	4	5	6
1 <i>Masnad-i-‘ūlī</i> Muḥarrak Khān Nūhāni	First Jaunpur in 1479 A.D. and After it Karā and Mānikpūr.	India	Nūhāni	Old noble who came with Bahlūl to Delhi at the time of his accession.	<i>Tab.A.K.</i> , pp.312, 316, 317 <i>T.D.</i> p. 12.
2 Ibrāhīm Khān	Etāwāh	India	Nūhāni	son fo Muḥarrak Khān Nūhāni,	<i>Firūzta</i> , p. 178. <i>Tab.A.K.</i> , p. 312.
3 Sher Khān	Somewhere in Karā	India	Nūhāni	The younger brother of Muḥarrak Khān Nūhāni.	<i>Tab.A.K.</i> , p. 317.
4 Khān-i-Khānān			Nūhāni	His iqṭā during Bahlūl's reign is not known.	<i>Tab.A.K.</i> , p. 299.

THE SARWĀNĪ NOBLES

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Shāhābād, Banūr and Pail including other <i>pargana-</i> <i>as</i> lying between them.	Sarwānī			T.S.S. F., 6 <i>Firishta</i> , p. 178. <i>Tab-A.K.</i> , p. 299
2	Dariya Khān	<i>iqtā'</i> not known	Sarwānī		<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , p. 321.
3	Dilawar Khān	" not known	Sarwānī		<i>T.K.J.</i> , ii/621.
4	Ahmed Khān	" not known	Sarwānī	son of Dilawar Khān Sarwānī	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , i/299 <i>Firishta</i> , p. 174.

THE JILWĀNĪ, THE KĀKAR AND THE SŪR NOBLES

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Yūsuf <u>Khān</u>		Jilwānī			
					<i>Tab-A.K., p. 321 Siyar-ul-Arifin pp. 177-8.</i>	
2	'Alī <u>Khān</u>	India.				
			Yūsuf <u>Khān</u> Jilwānī in Bahlūl's Service.		<i>Tab-A.K., p. 299</i>	
3	Aḥmād <u>Khān</u>	<i>Khilātā Bayānā</i>	India	Jilwānī		
					<i>son of Yūsuf Khān Jilwānī</i>	
<i>SŪRS AND KĀKAR</i>						
1	Himat <u>Khān</u>	a few villages in the <i>paraganā</i> of Ludhianā	Roh	Sūr		
					<i>T.S.S., f. 6</i>	
2	Firoz	50 villages in the <i>paraganā</i> of Pail in the <i>sarkar-i-Sirhind</i>	Roh	Kākar		
					<i>T.K.J. ii/884</i>	

THE FARMALI NOBLES

1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Mīrān Gādāī Māsnad-i-Ālī	Sarkār-i- Qunauj	Farmalī	Shaikhzādā of Tajik origin.		W. M. F. 66a
2 Mīrān Marūf	"	"	"	Son of Mīrān Gādāī	T.W.M. 61b
3 Khān-i-Khānān Māsnad-i-Ālī	"	"	"		Firishṭa p. 179; Tab. A.K., p. 314
4 Mīrān Muhammad Kālāpanār Māsnad-i-Ālī	Awadh and Bahratīch sarkārs	India	"	The name of his father is not known. But he was Bahūl's brother-in-law and in the service of Islam Khān Lodi	Firishṭa p. 178 W. M. f. 66a
5 Māsnad-i-Ālī Husain Farmalī	Sāran	"			W.M. F. 66a
6 Tātār Khān	Mahrera (Parganā)	India	"	Younger brother of Mīrān Muhammād Khālāpāhār	W. M. 66a
7 Khwaja Sāfi	Hariyana		"		W. M. F. 66a 9b

THE NON-AFGHAN MUSLIM NOBLES

1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Ahmad Khan Mewātī	Vilayat-i-Mewāt	India		Old family which continued in power in Mewat since the times of Tughlūqs	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , p. 302.
2 'Ali Khan Türkbačā	Khitā-Koi	India	Türkī origin	Old family	<i>Firishīta</i> , p.174 <i>Tab-A.K.</i> , p 299.
3 Mir Mübāriz Khan Behtā	Baran	India		Old family	<i>Firishīta</i> , p. 174 <i>Tab-A.K.</i> ,p. 299.
4 Iqbāl Khan	Bari	India		Old family	<i>T.K. J.</i> p.167.
5 Malik Firoz Türk		India	Türk	Old family	<i>Zubdat-u'l Tawarikh</i> , f.68a.
6 Ahmad Khan Shāmī				Son of, Malik Ghāzi, who seems to have been a noble of the Sayyid period	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , p.299.
7 Jūnā Khan					<i>Firishīta</i> , p. 174 <i>Tab-A.K.</i> , p. 299.
8 Shaikh Hussam-ud-din	Baghdād				<i>Lataif-i-Quddasī</i> , p.107.
9 Mübārak Khan	Saket	India		Old family	<i>T. K. J.</i> /146.

THE HINDU RĀ'IS AND NOBLES

1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Rā'i Pratāp	Bhogāon, Patiali and Kampil	India	Rājput	Old family	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , pp. 296, 302.
2 Bir Singh		India	Rājput	Son of Rā'i Pratāp	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , p. 302.
3 Rā'i Karan	Shamsābād	India	Rājput	Old family	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , pp.301, 303, 304, 307.
4 Rā'i Tīlok Chand	Baksar (Una)	India	Rājput	Old family	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , p. 311.
5 Rā'i Dūdū	Few <i>parganas</i> in Etawah	India	Rājput	son of Rā'i Sākit Singh	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , p. 311.
6 Rā'i Shakti Singh	Etawah	India	Rājput	Old family	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , p.313.

THE LODI NOBLES UNDER SULTĀN SIKANDAR

Name	Rank	Tribe, and zamindar	Country of birth	Father or other blood relations in service	<i>Iqtās</i> assigned	Career	Reference
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Daulat <u>Khān</u>	<i>Masnad-i-āī</i>	Yūsuf <u>Khai</u>	India	Son of Tātār <u>Khān</u>	In the <i>sarkār</i> of Lahore, Bhera and Sialkot	<i>Mugīṭā</i>	<i>W.M. F.</i> <i>B.H.</i> vol. I, <i>Tab-A.K.</i> , V. I p. 323.
2 Mubārāk <u>Khān</u>	<i>Masnad-i-āī</i>	"	India	Not-known	In the <i>Sarkār</i> of Lucknow	"	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , V. I p. 314.
3 Ahmad <u>Khān</u>	<i>Masnad-i-āī</i>	"	India	Son of Mubārāk <u>Khān</u> Lodi	<i>sarkār</i> of Lucknow	"	<i>T.K.J.</i> <i>Tab-A.K.</i> , p. 331.
4 Sa'īd <u>Khān</u>	"	India	"	"	"	"	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , p. 331.
5 Shaikh Jaa	"	India	"	"	"	<i>Firjha</i> , p. 179.	
6 Muhammād <u>Khān</u>	"	India	"	"	"	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , p. 33.	
7 Hūsain <u>Khān</u>	<u>Khan-i-Jahān</u>	Shāhū <u>Khai</u>	India	Son of <u>Khān-i-Jahān</u> Lodi, the Cousin of Bahlūl.	In Badaon <i>sarkār</i> in addition to the charge of the <i>sarkār</i> .	12,000 <i>sawārs</i>	<i>W.M.F.</i> <i>T.K.J.</i> p. 162.

(Continued from page 54)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
8	Ahmad Khān	Shāhū Khāl	India	Son of Mī'ān Hūsain Khān-i-Jahān Lodi		Small iqātā' in the par- ganah of Kaithal		W.M.fl. 29 a.b.
9	Khusrau Khān	Āzam Humāyūn	"	"	"	Durweshpur	Firishia, p. 181.	
10	Prince 'Alam Khān		"	"	Son of Sl. Bahūl	Itāwāh	Mirat-i- Sikandari, P. 163.	
11	Bhikkān Khān	Masnad-i-ṭālī	"	"	Son of prince 'Alam Khān	Itāwāh	Tab-A.K., P. 332 W.M.f.	
12	Khizr Khān		"	"	"	Itāwāh	63b.	First he was in his brother's ser- vice. Later on Sultān Sikandar replaced his elder brother, Bhikkan Khān with him as the Muqātā' of Etawah Sarkar. Administrator- in-charge of Dipālpur sarkar
13	Ali Khān	Masnad-i-ṭālī	Lodi		Iqātā' in Dipālpur		W.M. f. 23a.	
14	Mahmūd Khān	Masnad-i-ṭālī	Lodi		Iqātā' in Kālpī		T.K.J.i/173.	
15	Mahābat Khān		"		Kālpī	Temporary Muqātā' of Bihar.	Tab-A.K. i/ 319.	
16	Jāīl Khān Lodi		India	Son of, Mahmud Khān, the Muqātā' of Kālpī	Iqātā' in Kālpī		Administrator- in-charge of Kālpī, with a large contingent.	Tab-A.K., i/ 328.

(Continued from page 55)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
17	Bhilkan <u>Khān</u>	"	"	"			<i>T.K.J.i/194.</i>
18	Hāji <u>Khān</u>	"	"	"			<i>T.K.J.i/194.</i>
19	Mī'an Baban	Shāhu <u>Khai</u>	"	Atā' <u>Khān</u>	<i>Iqtā' in Sirhind</i>		<i>B.N., ii/466.</i>
					Administrator in-charge of <u>Sarkār-i-Sirhind.</u>		
20	Mubarak <u>Khān</u>	<i>Masand-i-Ālī</i>	Tūjī <u>Khai</u> (Lodi)		<i>Iqtā' In the sarkār of Jaunpur for some time</i>	<i>Muqtā' of Jaunpur for some time</i>	<i>Tab-A.K., i/321.</i>
21	Jamāl <u>Khān</u>	<u>Khān-i-Āzam</u>	Sārang <u>Khāni</u> (Lodi)		<i>Iqtā' in Jaunpur</i>	<i>Muqtā' of Jaunpur with 15,000 sawars 41b.</i>	<i>T.S.S. f. 7. W.M.f. 36b.</i>
22	Aḥmad <u>Khān</u>	<u>Khān-i-Āzam</u>	"	India	Son of Jamāl <u>Khān</u> Sārang <u>Khāni</u>	<i>Iqtā' in Jaunpur</i>	<i>Muqtā' of Jaunpur with 20,000 sawars after his father's death.</i>
23	Tāj <u>Khān</u>	<i>Masand-i-Ālī</i>	Sārang <u>Khāni</u> (Lodi)	India	Son of Jamāl Khan Sārang <u>Khāni</u>	In Chūnar	<i>Muqtā' of the sarkar of Chunar.</i>
24	Firoz <u>Khān</u>	"	"		Son of Aḥmad <u>Khān</u> son of Jamāl <u>Khān</u> Sārang <u>Khāni</u>	In the east	<i>Badāoni, p. 360.</i>
25	Kabir <u>Khān</u>	Lodi	India		Name of his father is not known		<i>W.M.f. 43a. B.N., ii 527.</i>
26	Dāud <u>Khān</u>	Lodi	India		Name of his father is not known	In Gwālior	<i>W.M. f.42b.</i>
							<i>Tab-A.K., i/ 326 T.K.J., i/ 198-9.</i>

THE SARWĀNĪ NOBLES UNDER SULTĀN SIKANDAR

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 <u>Khizr Khān</u>	Sarwāni	India	Dariyā Khān in Bahūl's service	"	"	"	<i>T.K.J.</i> i/ 1878.
2 <u>Sūlaimān</u>	"	"	"	"	"	"	<i>T.S.S.</i> f. 6.
3 <u>Masnad-i-'Ālī</u> <u>Umar Khān</u>	<u>Khān-i-'Āzam</u>	"	"	"	"	"	<i>T.K.J.</i> i/ 188.
							<i>Lataf-i-Qadd-</i> <i>usi</i> , p. 41.
4 <u>Ibrāhīm Khān</u>	<u>Masnad-i-'Ālī</u>	"	"	Son of Khan-i-'Āzam Umar Khan	"	"	<i>Vide W.M.</i> ff. 60b, 61a-b.
5 <u>Safīd Khān</u>	<u>Khān-i-'Āzam</u>	"	"	"	"	"	<i>T.K.J.</i>
6 <u>Haibat Khān</u>	"	"	"	"	"	"	<i>W.M.f.</i> 369-6.
7 <u>Masnad-i-'Ālī</u> <u>'Āzam Humāyūn</u>	<u>'Āzam Humāyūn</u>	"	"	45,000 <i>sawars</i> and the <i>Muqātā</i> of Kara and Mānikpur.	In Kara	"	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> i/ 3236 <i>T.K.J.</i> , i/188.
8 <u>Bābu Khān</u>	"	"	"	Son of Khan-i-'Āzam Umar Khan Sawani	"	"	<i>W.M.f. 45a.</i>
9 <u>Mīrān Rao</u> <u>Sarwāni</u>	"	"	"	Name of father is not known	"	"	

THE JILWĀNI NOBLES UNDER SULTĀN SIKANDAR

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 'Alā'u'd-dīn	<i>Masnad-i-'ūlī</i>	Jilwāni					<i>T. K. J.</i> , i/ 172.
2 Ismā'il Khān	"		India	Son of 'Alā'u'd-dīn Jilwāni	The rank of Malik The rank of Malik	His former <i>iqtā'</i> which he held under Bahlūl is not known.	<i>T. K. J.</i> , p. 172, 233.
3 Badr'u'd-dīn	"	"				Later on he held his <i>iqtā'</i> in Man- drail.	<i>Afṣanah-i-</i> <i>Shahān</i> , ff. 8 a.b. <i>W. M.</i> 60b.
4 Ahmad Khān	"	"		Son of Yusūf Khān Jilwāni (under Bahlūl)	<i>Mūqātā'</i> of Biāyanā	<i>Iqtā'</i> in Kālpī	<i>T. K. J.</i> , p. 239. <i>W. M.</i> f. 68a <i>T. K. J.</i> p. 174.
THE NŪHĀNĪ NOBLES UNDER SULTĀN SIKANDAR							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Mübārak Khān	<i>Masnad-i-'ūlī</i>	Nūhānī	India	Son of <i>Masnad-i-'ūlī</i> Mūbārak Khān	<i>Mūqātā'</i> of Kara	In Kara	<i>T. K. J.</i> , p. 239. <i>T. K. J.</i> , i/163.
2 Ibrahim Khān	"	"	"	"	<i>Mūqātā'</i> of Bihār 30,000 <i>sawārīs</i>	In Bihār	<i>W. M. H.</i> , 10a, 41b.
3 Dariyā Khān	"	"	"	"			<i>W. M. f.</i> , 43a.
4 Nasīr Khān	"	"	"	"			<i>W. M. f.</i> , 10a; <i>Talb-i-Kāra</i> (Dalmā'u) <i>Not known</i>
5 Sher Khān	"	"	"	"	Brother of <i>Masnad-</i> <i>i-'ūlī</i> Mūbārak Khān	In the Vilayat	<i>W. M. f.</i> , 10a; <i>T. K. J.</i> , i/180 <i>T. K. J.</i> , p. 172.
6 Ismā'il Khān	"	"	"	"	His father's name is not known		<i>W. M. f.</i> , 34b, <i>T. K. J.</i> , i/232.
7 Khān-i-khānān Nūhānī	Khān-i-Khānān	"	"	"	His father's name is not known	<i>Mūqātā'</i> of Rāpṛi and Chandwar	

THE AFGHĀN NOBLES OF LESS IMPORTANT TRIBES SUCH AS KARRĀNI, KĀKAR
SŪR, TOGHĀN AND SIRBINI

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Malik Dād	Karrāni	India		A noble of the status of Malik.			B.N., V. II pp. 472-8.
AFGHĀN NOBLES WHO ROSE TO PROMINENCE UNDER SULTĀN IBRĀHIM LODI							
1 <i>Masnad-i-ṭāṭī</i> Īsā Khān	<i>Masnad-i-ṭāṭī</i> Sarwāni	India	Son of Haibat Khān, who was exiled by Sī. Sikandar	A high noble	<i>Pargāñ</i> of Thanesar in <i>iqtā'</i>	T.S.S., ff. 88-9.	
2 Mi'ān Rā'ū Sarwāni	"	"		A high noble		<i>W.M.</i> f. 45a.	

THE NŪḤĀNĪ NOBLES

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Daulat Khān	Nā'ib	Nūḥānī	India	His father served un- der Ā'zām Humāyūn Sarwāni. Son of Khān-i-Khā- nan Nūḥānī	12,000 <i>sawārs</i> ' rank		T.S.S., f. 23.
2 Ḥusain Khān	"	"		"	Rāpi	<i>B.N.</i> , V. II, p. 557	
3 Mahmud Khān	"	"		"		<i>Iqtā'</i> not known.	<i>B.N.</i> , V. II, p.
4 Dariya Khān	"	"		Son of Mā'ruf Nūḥānī		<i>W.M.</i> f. 61b	
5 Alau'd-dīn	"	"		"		"	"
6 Haibat Khān	"	"		"		"	"

APPENDIX-C

THE NON-AFGHĀN MUSLIM NOBLES UNDER SULTĀN SIKANDAR AND SULTĀN IBRĀHIM LODI

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Muhammad Farmali known as Kālapāhār	<i>Masnad-i-āli</i>	Shaikhzādā (non-Afghan)	India	<i>Mugtā' of Awadh and Bahraich</i>	<i>Iqtā' in Awadh</i>	<i>W.M.</i> , 29a-b.
2	Mīān Tatar Khān	Khān	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> , f. 66a.
3	Khwājā Sa'īd	<i>Masnad-i-āli</i>	"	"	<i>Vakil of Sultān Sikandar.</i>	<i>Pargana of Marhera.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , f. 66a.
4	Mīān Mahmūd known as Todar Mal	"	"	"	An associate of the Sultan Sikandar and held a high rank.	"	<i>Ibid.</i> , f. 68a
5	Shaikh Gaddā'i	"	A Farmali Shaikhzādā	"	<i>Mūqā'a of Qanauj</i>	In Qanauj	<i>Ibid.</i> , f. 34b.
6	Mīān Mā'ruf	"	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> , f. 60a-b.
7	Mīān Tahā	"	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> , 60b.
8	Khān-i-Khānān	Khān-i-Khānān	"	"	<i>Mugtā' of Bayānā</i>	In Bayānā	<i>Ibid.</i> , f. 39a;
9	Imād	"	"	"	"	"	<i>T.K.J.</i> , p. 190
10	Mīān Sulaimān	"	Farmali Shaikhzada	"	6,000 <i>sawars</i>	First in Bayānā, afterwards Shahabad	<i>T.K.J.</i> , p. 191.
						f. 66.	<i>W.M.</i> , f. 66a,
11	Mīān Husain Khān known as Jalkhet	<i>Masnad-i-āli</i>	"	"	Formerly a <i>sawār</i> under Bahul; gradually rose to the position of a high noble, being the <i>mūqā'a</i> of Saran and Cham-	First Jalesar Mangalore, Shahabad & others. Afterwards only the <i>parganā</i> of Indri in Saran	<i>T.K.J.</i> , pp. 209-10. <i>W.M.</i> , ff. 3a.
12	Shaikh Muhammad	"	"	"	paran	"	<i>Ibid.</i> , ff. 40b, 62b.
							<i>E</i> Mariana & Detolia <i>Ibid.</i> , f. 66a. <i>T.K.J.</i> , p. 233.

Continued from page 61

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	Shaikh Jamāl	"	"	"	"	In Chanderi	<i>Tab. A.K.</i> , p. 332 <i>T.D.</i> , p. 96.
14	Mīrān Zain al-Din	"	Indian Muslim of Delhi	India	<i>Mugtā</i> of Badā'ūn after the death of Khān-i-Jahān Lodi, the younger	in Badaun	<i>W.M.</i> f. 29a- b.
15	Mīrān Zabāral-Dīn	"	"	"	"	<i>Sarkār</i> of the Dar al-Mulk Delhi	<i>Ibid.</i> , f. 31a.
16	Taj ud-dīn Khān	"	Kanhoh	"	"	In Otnagar	<i>M.R.</i> , p. 467, <i>T.K.J.</i> , 1/201. <i>W.M.</i> f. 24b.
17	'Umar Khān	"	"	"	Amīr-i Akhur of Sl. Sikandar.		<i>Ibid.</i> , f. 42b.
18	Jamāl Khān	"	"	"	<i>wijāhdār</i>	In Bihar	<i>Firīshā</i> , p. 180
19	Mīrān Jumān	"	"	"	<i>Hajib-i Khas</i>	Not-known	<i>Tab.A.K.i/315;</i> <i>Akkari</i> , p. 315. <i>T.K.J.</i> , i/210. <i>W.M.</i> f. 41a.
20	Shaikh Da'ud	"	"	"	<i>Shiqdar</i> in Saran	Not-known	<i>Firīshā</i> ,
21	Shaikh Habib	"	Indian Shaikhzada	"		Not-known	p.
22	Jalal	"	An Indian Mus- lim	"	Amīr-i Akhūr	Not-known	180
23	Shaikh Ghurān	"	Indian Shaikhzada	"	<i>Wajāhdār</i>	In Mi'an-i-Doab	<i>W.M.</i> f. 140.
24	Muhammad Khān	"	"	"			<i>Ibid.</i> , f. 45a.
25	Khwaja Bain	"	"	"		Jehtrā	<i>Ibid.</i> , f. 45a.
26	Mu'iz al-dīn Khān	"	Malik	"	"		<i>T.K.J.</i> , i/192.
27	Safdar Khān	"	"	"	"		<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 196.
28	Haji Sārang Khān	"	Sārang Khān	Indian Muslim zamindar	"	In Dholpur Agra	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 190
29	Husain Khān, the convert, formerly known as Ra'i Dungar	"	"	"	A high noble	Not-known	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , 333. <i>T.K.J.</i> , i/209
30	Firuz Aghwan	"	A non-Afghan	Kabul	"	<i>Sarkār-i Shīvpur</i>	
							<i>Firīshā</i> , p. 180

Continued from page 62

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31	Isma'īl	Malik	India	A high noble	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , i/ 348.		
32	Mi'an Makkān	Shaikhzadā of India	"	Previously in the service of Mujahid Khan.	<i>Ibid.</i> , i /310. p. 210.		
33	Muhammad Khān Nagori	He enjoyed all the privileges of a <i>zamindar</i>	"	Afterwards, an independent noble.	<i>Firishta</i> , p. 186.		
34	Ali Khān Nagori	"	"	Previously a vassal of the Sultan of Malwa	<i>Firishta</i> , p. 186. <i>Ibid.</i> , 186.		
35	Abu-Bakr Khān Nagori	"	"	"	<i>W.M.</i> , f. 13b.		
36	Mi'an Malih	Turk	"	Wājahdār Arwal (in Gaya Dist.)	<i>T.K.J.</i> , 4/173. <i>W.M.</i> , f. 22b.		
37	Taiār Khān	"	"	Jehra			
38	Mi'an Qasim	"	"	<i>Miqā'a</i> of the <i>Sarkār</i> of Sambhal			
39	Badr-u'd-Dīn Khān Alawal Khān Mawati	Malik	Indian Muslim Indian Khānzada	In Sambhal <i>Sarkār</i> India	<i>Muqā'a</i> of <i>Mewāt</i>		
40	"	"	"	"	In the <i>sarkār</i> of Mewat		
41	Masnad-i 'ālī Khwāas Khan	Masnad-i 'ālī Bhua	Indian Muslim	"	Wazīr-i Mütlaq of Sl. Sikandar	<i>W.M.</i> , f. 67b. <i>Tab-A.K.</i> , i/342.	
42	"	"	"	"	Wazir of Sultan Sikandar	<i>W.M.</i> , f. 32b-33a.	
43	Mi'an Isma'il Khwaja Khān Mawati	"	"	"	"	<i>W.M.</i> , ff. 33a-b; <i>Tibb-i Sikandari</i> , f. 7a.	
44	"	"	"	"	"	<i>T.K.J.</i> , 4/190. <i>W.M.</i> , f. 73 b.	

THE HINDU RĀ'IS WHO WERE EITHER ABSORBED IN THE OFFICIAL HIERARCHY OR HELD THE POSITION OF A POWERFUL ZAMINDAR AND NOBLE BOTH

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Rā'i Ganesh	Rā'i	Rajput zamindar of the east	India	Previously he held some territory in the East.	The <i>Pargāns</i> of Patiali & Kampil	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , i/315, 325 <i>Badauni</i> , p. 314.
2 Rā'i Bahid	"	"	The Rājā of Bhattā	"	"	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , i/318 <i>T.K.J.</i> 179,81
3 Rā'i Salbahan	"	"	"	"	"	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , 102, 103 <i>T.K.J.</i> i/596.
4 Parem Deo	"	Rajput	<i>Mugta'</i> of Meerut, 4000 <i>sawārs</i>	"	In Meerut	<i>M.R.</i> , i/506.
5 Malik Roop Chand	Malik	Perhas (Rajput)	"	"	"	<i>Lata'</i> if-i <i>Qūddūsī</i> , P. 148.
6 Jagar Sen Kachhwāhā	Rajput	"	"	"	In Chanderī	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , i/332.
7 Rājā Singh	Kachhwaha	"	"	"	Nārore	<i>M.R.</i> , p. 469. <i>A.B.</i> <i>Pandey</i> , p. 140.
8 The Rā'i of Tirhut (Name not known)	Rajput	"	"	"	"	<i>Tab-A.K.</i> , i/319.

THE NOBLE WHO ROSE TO PROMINENCE UNDER SULTĀN IBRĀHĪM LODI
(THE NON-AFGHAN NOBLES)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Hasan Khān Mewati	<i>Mānād-i-tālī</i>	Khanzādā of Mewat	India	A high noble	Sarkar Mewati	B. N., ii/523.
2 Ilyās Khān	Khān	Turkbachā	"	Rank not known	Somewhere in the Sarkar of Koil	W.M. f. P. 42; B.N., ii/576.
3 Malik Abul Fāṭḥ	Malik	"	"	Shiqdār	In Sandila	<i>Proceedings of the Idāra-i Ma'ārif-i Islamia</i> , 1936, pp. 283-4
4 Muhammad son of 'Umar	Local Muslim	India	Shiqdār	In Koil	The Monumental Antiquities and Ins- criptions, pp. 2-3. W.M. f. 45a.	
5 Muhammad Khān of Jehtra	Indian Muslim	India	A high noble	In Ichhra pargana	In Awadh	B.N., ii/527.
6 Qazi Siyā	"	"	"	"	"	Ibid., vol. ii/523.
7 Muhammad Marghub	"	"	"	An officer in the royal Khāsa Khālī	Mahāwāī In Etawa	M.R., p. 485-6. B.N., ii/ 477.
8 Qutb Khān	"	"	"	A high noble	"	
9 Frūz Khān Mewati	A Muslim of Mewati	Indian Muslim	"	A high noble of the status of amir	In Biyana Sarkar	Ibid., vol. ii, p. 538-9.
10 Nizām Khān	Indian Muslim	Indian	"	"	In Tahangarh	Ibid., vol. ii, p. 538.
11 'Alam Khān	"	"	"	"	Somewhere in The Doab (U.P.)	Ibid., p. 557.
12 Rūstam Khān	"	"	"	"	In the sarkar of Gwalior	Ibid., vol. ii, p. 610.
13 Rahīm Dād	"	"	"	"	In Hisar Firuzā	<i>Firuzā</i> , p. 204.
14 Ḥamid Khān	"	"	"	"		

THE FARMALI NOBLES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Mian Müṣṭafā	Fārmālī Shaikhzadā	India	Successor of his father-in-law in his <i>iqlū'</i> and rank	In Oudh	W.M. f. 43a.	
2	Mi'an Bayazid	"	"	A high noble	TSS, f. 53.		
3	Samrū	Fārmālī Shaikhzadā	"		In Oudh	<i>Ibid.</i> , f. 53-54a.	
4	'Ali Khān	Khān-i-Khānān	"	<i>Muqātā'</i> of a <i>sarkar</i>	In Dipalpur	B.N., vol. ii, p. 526. T.K.J., i/ 248, 249.	

THE HINDU NOBLES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Rājā Bikramājīt	Rajput	India	He was assigned a high rank	Vilayet of Shamsabad	A.B. Pandey, p. 179	
2	Malli Sarduk			A high noble		B.N., ii/477.	

JAMALI'S RELATIONS WITH THE RULERS OF DELHI

S. A. LATIF

THE present paper is an attempt to analyse Jamali's relations with the rulers of Delhi in the light of his own work and the contemporary source material.

Shaikh Hamid, (A.D. 1454-1535) popularly known as Jamali,¹ had to his credit the qualities of a scholar, a sufi, a poet and a traveller. He was one of the disciples and son-in-law² of the noted Suhrawardi saint, Shaikh Samauddin.³ He was born in a Kamboh family at Delhi in c. 855⁴ A.H./1454. His father Fazlullah died when he was quite young, but by dint of his labour and devotion he perfected himself in the exoteric and esoteric sciences, and earned a good name as a sufi as well as a poet.⁵ He had extensively travelled in Muslim countries,

1 *Siyar-ul 'Ārifin*, ff. 1-2. According to *Akhbār-ul Akhyār*, 233-34 and *Ma'asir-ul Umarā'*, (Eng. tr.) vol. 1, 568 Jamali's name was Jalal Khān and pen name Jalali. After joining the circle of Shaikh Samauddin, he adopted the pseudonym of Jamali at the instance of his preceptor. *Khizāna-i Amirat* 177, calls him by the name of Fazlullah.

2 *Akhbār-ul Akhyār*, 233-34, *Tārikh Khān' i Jahāni wa-Mālik-zan-i Afghāni*, vol. I, 227.

3 Shaikh Samauddin (808 A.H./1405-901 A.H./A.D. 1495?) son of Shaikh Fakhrud-din was a distinguished disciple and *Khalifa* of Shaikh Kabiruddin Ismail of the suhrawardi *Silisilah*. He was also a good scholar of his age and is said to have written some books. He was on very good terms with Bahlol, who visited his *Khāngah* and received moral instructions from him. Sikandar also had much respect for him. See *Siyar-ul 'Ārifin*, ff. 145-149. *Akhbār-ul Akhyār*, 217, *Tārikh-i Shāhi*, 34.

4 We do not find any reference about his date of birth in *Siyar-ul 'Ārifin* or in any other source. On the basis of Prof. Nazir's presumption that Jamali's age was forty years when he met Jami, sometime after 895 A.H. It might be concluded that he was born in 855 A.H. See *Urdu Adab*, vol IV, 1956, 128-129.

5 *Akhbār-ul Akhyār*, 234.

particularly Hejaz, Iraq, Syria, Yamen, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Egypt, Mawaraun Nahr, Azarbajian, Gilan, Mazendrān and Khorasan; and had met reputed scholars of his day like Jami, Jalaluddin Dawwami and others. He was warmly welcomed in mystic circles and scholarly gatherings¹ for his wittiness and poetic talents. He is also said to have written some important books.²

Before dealing with Jamali's relations with the rulers of Delhi, it is necessary to put in brief the traditions of the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* towards the State. Almost all the Suhrawardi saints, right from Shaikh Najibuddin Abdul Qahir, the founder of the *Silsilah*, down to Shaikh Jamali's time, had an attitude of associations and maintaining good relations with the Sultāns.³ In doing so, they are said to have been inspired on religious⁴ and humanitarian considerations.⁵ Shaikh Ruknuddin Abul Fath, a grandson of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria,⁶ while defending his attitude is reported to have remarked, "since a *darvesh* is frequented by all sorts of people, he should possess three things: money,

1 *Siyar-ul 'Arifin*, ff. 2, 19-20 and 148. *Akhbār-ul Akhyar*, 234, *Tārikh-i Shāhi*, 47.

2 He was the author of *Siyar-ul 'Arifin*, which contains an account of fourteen important Saints of India; *masnavi mihrmah*, written at the request of the people of Tabrez to commemorate the love affair between Princess Mahr and Prince Mah; *Qasa'id-i Jamali*, consisting of 39 *qasidas*, seven of which are in praise of Sultān Sikandar, six in praise of Babur and six in praise of Humayun; and *Mirat-ul Ma'anī*, a treatise on mysticism. For a detailed description of his works, see *Urdu Adab*, Vol. 4, 1956, 144-145, Oriental College Magazine, vol. IX, No. 3, pt. 1, 1933, 44-48.

3 Shaikh Abu Najib not only associated himself with the rulers of his time but is said to have taken the oath of allegiance and acted as an adviser of the ruler too. See *Tārikh-i Kāmil*, Vol. XII, 122. His disciple Shaikh Shihabuddin worked as an ambassador of the Baghdad ruler to the court of Arabil. *Ulama-i Salaf*, 112. For attitude of the Indian saints of this *silsilah*, see *Medieval India-Quarterly*, Vol. III, 1957. p. 109-149.

4 In support of their attitude towards the State they cite the *Quranic* Verse "Obey Allah, obey the Prophet and obey those with authority among you" and the tradition of the Prophet, "whoever, obeys the Sultan obeys God and whoever obeys God attains salvation." see (1) *Adāb-ul Muridin* (Urdu tr. Muslim Press, Delhi 1339 A.H.), 46-47. (2) *Malfūzāt-i Qutb-'Ālam* (MS.) f. 16a, cited by Prof. Nizami, *Medieval India-Quarterly*. Vol. III, 1957, 115.

5 Shaikh Samauddin, persuading his disciple Jamali to meet Sikandar had said, "visit to royal court by the sufis provided them with opportunities to help the poor and get their grievances redressed by the Sultan" *Tārikh-i Shāhi*, 48.

6 Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria (578 A.H./A.D. 1182-661 A.H./A.D. 1262), a distinguished *Khalifa* of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi, was, the real founder of the Suhrawardi *silsilah* in India. He was an accomplished scholar and had travelled extensively in Muslim countries. He lived, worked and died in Multan. For details, see *Fawā'id-ul-Fu'ad*, ff. 6-9 *Siyar-ul 'Arifin*, ff. 14-36, *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, 32-33, *Tārikh-i Ferishta*, Vol. II, 404-409.

learning and spiritual ability to fulfill their varying needs."¹

Shaikh Jamali in his relations with the rulers of Delhi appears to have been inspired by the Suhrawardi traditions.

Jamali's first contemporary ruler was Bahlol Lodi (A.D. 1451-1489). But he does not appear to have any close relation with him. On one occasion, it is said, he met Bahlol when the latter paid a visit to the *Khāngāh* of Shaikh Samauddin.² It does not, however, show that he had any close contact with him. Jamali had, however, very cordial relations with Sikandar Lodi (A.D. 1489-1517) which appears to have been developed not so much due to his spiritual attainments but for his poetic achievements³. Intimacy between Jamali and Sikandar started after the former's return from his visit to Muslim lands.⁴

Sikandar, who was himself a poet with the pen name of Gul Rukhi, appreciated Jamali's *mīhrmāh* and wanted to meet the poet and have a copy of the work. He was so keen to meet him that he himself composed an ode⁵ on Jamali and sent it to him from Sambhal to Delhi inviting him to his court. After receiving the letter, Jamali first declined to meet Sikandar and remarked "What has a sufi to do with the company of the rich."⁶ Nevertheless he sent in reply a rhymed letter along with the book demanded. The Sultan then wrote to Shaikh Samauddin to persuade Jamali to visit his court. The Shaikh then impressed upon Jamali that "Visiting royal court by the sufis provided them with opportunities to help the poor and get their grievance redressed by the Sultan."⁷ Jamali could not ignore the advice of his preceptor and proceeded to meet Sikandar at Sambhal.⁷ Sikandar received him warmly.⁸ This meeting proved a landmark in Jamali's career.

1 *Akhbār-ul Akhyār*, 72.

2 *Siyar-ul Ārifin*, f. 148.

3 *Tārikh-i Shāhi*, 48.

4 *Mākhzan-i Afghāni*, vol. I, 225

5 Some of the verses of the ode are as follows: "O Jamali, the store house of eternal wealth. The wayfarer in the path of faith. You went round the world, and have come back happy to your home. You are the traveller of the Age, It is an excellent thing that you have returned to your country. You had been a jewel but now turned into a full treasury. *Mīhrmāh* is the book you have composed, I wish you would send it to me. O' Shaikh come to me swiftly, you will receive from Gul Rukhi what you want."

See *Mākhzan-i Afghāni*, vol. I, 226, *Tārikh-i Shāhi*, 48-49. For English version of the verses, see N. Roy's English tr. of *Mākhzan-i Afghāni*, 103.

6 *Mākhzan-i Afghāni*, vol. I, 226.

7 *Ibid.*, f. 227, According to *Tārikh-i Shāhi*, f. 48, Jamali went to meet Sikandar at Badayun

8 *Mākhzan-i Afghāni*, f. 227.

From this period till the death of Sikandar he remained on very good terms with him, and was ranked among his chief nobles.¹ He also corrected the verses of the Sultan.² Due to the Sultan's intimacy with and extreme reverence for Jamali, certain people thought that the Sultan had become a disciple of Jamali.³

Shaikh Jamali had very high opinion of Sikandar and has paid a tribute to him in his book *Siyar-ul 'Ārifīn*. He says, "He was a man of fine temperament with many good qualities, and had excellent poetic ability, and the people had great confidence in him."⁴

Jamali had written seven *qasidās* (panegyrics) in praise of Sikandar in which he has described his virtues, his piety, honesty, justice, etc. and has concluded with the remark: 'The friendship that exists between myself and you is for the sake of God, and not for obtaining wealth of this treacherous world'.⁵

When the Sultan died in A.D. 1517 Jamali wrote a pathetic elegy and bitterly lamented his death.⁶

When Ibrahim ascended the throne, Jamali also became the victim of court intrigues and lost the prestige he had enjoyed at the court during the time of Sikandar.

Describing the political condition of Ibrahim's reign, Jamali has remarked that his period was known for three things: chaos, disorder and blood-shed. His court had become the den of stupid and vicious persons. He had inducted into his court the Afghans who were known for their wickedness and mischievousness. Ibrahim had appointed Farid, the most wicked person of the time, as his *wazir* after sacking Saiyyid Buwa (Boh).⁷ Saiyyid Boh, known for his wisdom, farsightedness and patronage for the *Ulama* and the sufis, was not only sacked, but thrown into prison and was then killed. Farid also created misunderstanding between him and Ibrahim by mischievous interpretation of a verse⁸ from his elegy (*marsiā*) on Sikandar, in which he had made a complaint to the deceased Sultan about the misconduct of the court (*diwan*) of Ibrahim; but Farid exploited the word *diwan* of

1 *Mākhzan-i Afghāni*, vol. 1, 227.

Akhbar-ul Akhyar, 234, *Tārikh-i Firishtā*, vol. 1, 188, *Tabqāt-i Akbari*, (text), 172, and also Elliot. *History of India*, vol. VI, 488.

2 *Muntkhab-ut Tawarikh*, vol. I, 325.

3 *Siyar-ul 'Ārifīn*, f. 82.

4 *Siyar-ul 'Ārifīn*, f. 82.

5 *Qasāid-i Jamāli* (MS.), Habib Ganj Collection ff; 32, 34, 35, and 36 and *Medieval India-Quarterly* vol. III, 1957, 141.

6 *Qasāid-i Jamāli*, f. 64.

7 Badauni and Niamatullah have referred to him as Miyan Boh. See *Muntkhab ut Tawarikh*, vol. 1, 327, *Mākhzan-i Afghāni*, vol. 1, 242.

8 *Siyar-ul 'Ārifīn*. f. 82.

the verse, and made Ibrahim feel that he had been condemned as devil (*dev*) by him.¹ After this incident, relations between Jamali and Ibrahim could not be normalised.

After the defeat and death of Ibrahim Lodi in A.D. 1526 at the hands of Babur, Jamali joined the camp of Babur, and remained on very good terms with him.² He is said to have been assigned the task of collecting all available archers from between the two rivers (Jamuna and Ganges) and Delhi, so that a strong force could be prepared to suppress the Mewatis.³ Notwithstanding the fact that the battle of Panipat had completely shattered Lodi power, he felt no hesitation in rejoicing at the victory of Babur over the Lodis. He composed six *qasidas* (panegyrics) in appreciation of Babur's valour, victory and policy.

Praising his new patron's exploitation in Mewat, he says "The wicked Mewatis when turned their heads from your door, their head-gear turned into nest of kite and crow."⁴ About Babur's valour and victory he has said, "the killer of the enemy, Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, by a swift march from Kabul conquered the country of Bengal."⁵

In another verse he has reffered to his close attachment with Babur, "the consideration, respect and intimacy with which he (Babur) treated Jamali, is evident every where like the sun and need not be spoken."⁶

Jamali enjoyed Babur's confidence, and was deputed by him to bring Dadu and her son Jalal Khan to his court.⁷

When Humayun succeeded Babur in A.D. 1530 Jamali attached himself to Humayun and was ranked among his chief courtiers.⁸ He joined Humayun when the latter went on his compaign to Gujarat in A.D. 1535.⁹ He wrote six *qasidas* in praise of Humayun also. In one of his verses he has compared Humayun with Abu Bakr in piety and truthfulness, with Umar in justice and equity, in modesty and mildness with Usman and with Ali, in courage.¹⁰

Jamali died in Gujarat during the campaign of Humayun, but his dead body was brought to Delhi and buried there.¹¹ He was survived

1 *Siyar-ul 'Arifin*, f. 82.

2 *Akhbār-ul Akhyār*, 234.

3 *Bābur Nāmā* (Eng. tr.) Tol. II, 665.

4 *Qasāid-i Jamali*, f. 46.

5 *Akhbār-ul Akhyār* 234. Jamali's statement regarding Babur's conquest of Bengal is not corroborated by any contemporary evidence, and hence it is not correct.

6 *Qasāid-i Jamāli*, f. 44.

7 *Akhbār-ul Akhyār* vol. II (Eng. tr.) 665.

8 *Bābur Nāmā*, 234 *Tabaqat-i Akbari* text) 172.

9 *Akhbār-ul Akhyār*, 234.

10 *Qasaid-i Jamali* f. 51.

11 *Akhbār-ul Akhyār*, 234.

by his two sons Shaikh Abdul Hai known as Hiyati¹ and Shaikh Gadai,² who also attached themselves to the courts of their contemporary rulers.

1 *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, 234-225.

2 *Ibid.*, 235. See also, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*- vol. III, 76-77, *Ma'asir-ul Umarā*, vol. II, 539-541.

SHAIKH 'ABDUL QUDDŪS GANGŌHĪ'S RELATIONS WITH POLITICAL AUTHORITIES : A REAPPRAISAL*

IQTIDAR ALAM KHAN

ACCORDING to some modern historians, Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs Gangōhī (d. 1537) was responsible for bringing the *Chishtī* order closer to political authorities by relaxing what they call, the order's discipline "in relation to the kings and nobles." They identify, such a 'shift' in Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' attitude towards the political authorities at a rather late stage in his career, and tend to attribute it to his anxiety to persuade the contemporary rulers "to uphold the primacy of the law of *shari'at*" and protect the Muslims in general. The Muslims, it is held were being harrassed or at times even evicted from their homes, by 'the Hindus'.¹

This view seems to be based on the assumption that, in the first quarter of the 16th century, the position of the Muslims in India had become so precarious that, had Bābur not intervened, the Muslims would have been completely overwhelmed by the Hindus. It is pointed out by the writers having this view that the Hindus had, at certain places, succeeded in establishing 'their domination' to such a degree that it was becoming increasingly difficult for the Muslims to stay there.² According to them there were also active, in different parts of the country, certain proselytising movements of the Hindus, aimed at

* Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs was born near Rudauli around 860/1456. He entered the *Khānqāh* of Shaikh 'Abdul Haq of Sābri branch of *Chishtī* order at an early age and became a *murid* of Shaikh 'Abdul Haq's grandson, Shaikh Muḥammad. 'Abdul Quddūs moved in 896/1491 from Rudauli to Shahabad (District Karnal, Haryana). In 1525, he moved to Gangoh (District Saharanpur, U.P.) where he stayed till his death on 23 Jumād'a II 944/28 November 1537. Cf. Simon Digby, Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs Gangōhī (A.D. 1456-1537): The Personality and Attitude of a Medieval Indian *Sufi*, *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, Vol. III, Aligarh, pp. 2-12.

1 Compare K.A. Nizāmi, *Tārikh-i Mashāikh-i Chisht* (Urdu), Delhi, 1957, pp. 219-21 and *Salāṭin-i Dehlī-Ke Mazhabī Rujhānāt* (Urdu), Delhi 1958, p. 449; Zamiruddin Siddiqui, Shaikh 'Abdūl Quddūs of Gangoh and Contemporary Rulers, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1969, p. 306.

2 According to K. A. Nizami, in places like Chanderi, Nagore and Rudauli 'the conditions had become so serious (*nāzuk*) that the Muslims had started migrating from these places to settle down in other localities. He cites evidence only regarding the alleged migration of Muslims from Rudauli, a town located in Awadh. Cf. *Tārikh-i Mashāikh-i Chisht*, pp. 216 and *Salāṭin-i Dehlī Ke Mazhabī Rujhānāt*, p. 450.

making the Muslims 'apostates'.¹

An attempt is made in this paper to examine these assumptions on the basis of a closer scrutiny of the available evidences. Here, particularly, some of the evidences contained in *Lataif-i-Quddusi* and *Maktubat-i Quddusiya* have been taken into account. These evidences, which have been practically ignored by the above historians, enable one to work out certain aspects of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs's relations with contemporary rulers that suggest only earthly motives behind his anxiety to come closer to the political authorities of his day.

II

In assuming that, during the first quarter of the 16th century, Islam in India was in danger of being overwhelmed by the forces of militant Hinduism, Prof. K. A. Nizami has relied chiefly on two statements taken from *Tabaqat-i Akbari* and one each from *Afsana-i Shahan* and *Lataif-i Quddusi*. These statements are together interpreted as suggesting the existence of a militant Hindu movement seeking to destroy Islam. This interpretation, however, is not confirmed by an examination of context in which the above statements occur in the text.

Prof. K. A. Nizami quotes from *Afsana-i Shahan* the following statement reportedly made by a *qazizada* of Siyur² before *Sultan* Sikandar Lodi:

"Originally, we were 'Usmānī Muslims.

Now I have become a *zunnārdār*."

From this statement, he draws the sweeping inference that during this time, there existed a movement aimed at converting the Muslims to Hinduism. Prof. K. A. Nizami unfortunately, has failed to notice that this was only a mis-statement made by the *qazizada* in order to dramatise his situation before *Sultan* with the object of securing the support of the central authority in his quarrel with a Hindu *zamindār*. From the text of the anecdote given in *Afsana-i Shahan*, however, it is obvious that the quarrel between the two did not stem from religious difference; there is no reference to any kind of conversions, forced or voluntary. According to this anecdote, the family of the complainant held hereditary office of the *mehtas*³ under the *Rājās* of Siyur and were

1 *Salātin-i Dehlī Ke Mazhabī Rujhānāt*, p. 450.

2 Cf. *Ain-i Akbari*, Nawal Kishore, p. 121. Siyur, a *pargana* in *sarkār* Bihar. Brahmins (*zunnārdārs*) are mentioned as the *zamindārs* of the place. Compare, *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal*, p. 302 and Buchanan's Map (*Patna-Gaya Report*, II, end of the vol.). It is the same place as Seor-Muhammadabad (24° 85°) [The last reference has been given to me by Prof. Irfan Habib].

3 Same as *Mahtō* used in colloquial Hindi of Bihar for 'an agent or representative of a *zamindar*, employed to collect the revenue and manage the affairs of the village'. Cf. Wilson, *A Glossary of the Judicial and Revenue Terms*, reprint, [Delhi 1968], p. 320.

recognised by the latter as their guides till there arose a quarrel between them some time during Sikandar Lōdi's reign. In this quarrel, the Rājā killed the entire family of the *mehtas*, excepting the complainant who came to Sikandar Lōdi's camp in Bihar and presented himself before the *Sultān* wearing a thread round his neck.

The king noticed him and asked: "Who are you?" He replied: "Originally we were 'Uṣmāni Muslims. Now I have become a *zunnārdār* (wearer of the thread)."

That the quarrel between the two families was essentially in the nature of a temporary feud between two clans sharing *zamindāri* perquisites in the same locality is further borne out by the subsequent behaviour of the complainant. Having settled his score with the Rājā, he raised a member of the same family to the position of the chief. According to Muḥammad Kabīr, the members of the two clans were 'pulling on together' down to his own time, i.e. the first quarter of the 17th Century.¹

A similar interpretation given by Prof. K. A. Nizami to a passage from *Laṭāif-i Quddūsi* appears to be equally untenable.² That Ruknuddin attributes his father's decision to leave Rudauli in 1491 to the establishment of 'Hindu Rule' over that *pargana*, is no doubt correct. Simon Digby points out that this appears to be a reference to the revolt

1 Compare, Muḥammad Kabīr, *Afsāna-i Shāhan* MS. British Museum, Add. 24409 f. 29a: "In the hilly tracts of Bihar, there is a place (known as) Siyur. The Rājā of that place was a Brahman and his guide was a *mehta*, a *qāzī* of 'Uṣmāni (clan). Eventually, the Rājā and the *qāzī* fell out with each other and the Rājā killed the entire clan of the *qāzīs*, (of whom) one person survived. (He) fled from there and sought justice from *Sultān* Sikandar, presenting himself in the *darbār* with a thread round his neck. The king noticed him and asked: "Who are you?" He replied: "Initially we were 'Uṣmāni Muslims. Now I have become a wearer of thread." The king enquired: 'on what account?' He replied 'Rājā Siyur, a Brahman, has killed all the members of my family. I am the only one to have escaped and come over here to seek justice.' The king sent thirty thousand troops with him (saying): 'You too should kill his entire family.' At last he came to Siyur with thirty thousand troops and killed all the members of the Rājā's family except one person whom (he) spared saying: 'I too was the only one, left behind. Let one member of the family be left alive.' In the end, the same person who had survived (the killing) became the Rājā and that *qāzīzāda* became (his) *mehta*. Hence the earlier situation was restored. Their descendants are pulling together to this date."

2 Ruknuddin, *Laṭāif-i Quddūsi*, Delhi, 1311/1894 (hereafter referred to as *Laṭāif*), p. 31. anecdote 35: Mentioning the circumstances which induced Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs to move from Rudauli to Shahabad, Ruknuddin makes the following statement :

"After *Sultān* Bahlūl's death, Miyan Nizām became king with title, *Sultān* Sikandar. The *kāfirs* had gained power in Hindustan and the *pargana* of Rudauli passed under their control. The Islamic way of life was abolished. Pork was sold in the market. *Hazrat Qutbī* (i.e. Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs) was distressed (*dilgir shuda*) and left (that place)."

of the Bachgoti chiefs who, around this time, had attempted to overthrow the Lodi administration in certain parts of Awadh at the instigation of *Sūltān Husain Sharqī*.¹ However, a closer reading of the anecdote in which the above statement occurs, as well as the other related anecdotes from the same text show that *Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs'* decision to leave Rudauli was taken primarily for personal reasons. There is no basis for believing that, during this time, situation at Rudauli had become so intolerable for Muslims that they were being forced to migrate from there. Ruknuddīn does not anywhere say that it had become impossible for the Muslims to continue to live at Rudauli. According to him, the sale of pork in the open market at Rudauli caused *Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs* 'annoyance' and he was thus provoked to consider leaving that place for good. But it was only after considerable persuasion that 'Umar Khan Sarwānī could induce *Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs* to make up his mind to move on to the former's charge, Shahabad.² There is no evidence whatsoever that he was accompanied by many people to Shahabad. On the other hand, one knows for certain that many of the Muslim notables, including *Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs'* preceptor, *Shaikh Muḥammad*³ and *Shaikh 'Umar Sūrī*, 'the Chaudhari' of Rudauli,⁴ continued to reside there even after his migration to Shahabad.

Again, the statements quoted by Prof. K. A. Nizami from the *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī* would suggest, at most, that charges of apostasy were levelled by hostile critics against two of the Afghan chiefs, *Nasir Khān* (*hākim* of Kalpi) and *Aḥmad Khān Lōdi* (*hākim* of Lukhnauti).⁵ There

1 Simon Digby, *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, Vol. III, Aligarh, p. 9.

2 *Lajāif*, anecdote 35, p. 31. According to Ruknuddin, when 'Umar *Khān Sarwānī* came to know of *Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs'* 'annoyance' over the conditions prevailing at Rudauli, it occurred to him that if for this reason *Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs* leaves his ancestral place and comes to Shahabad, it would be a very fortunate thing for him. 'Umar *Khān* employed such stratagems that '*Hazrat Qutbī*, as was ordained by God, came to Shahabad.'

3 Cf. *Lajāif*, anecdote 53, p. 40.

4 Cf. *Lajāif*, anecdote 45, p. 35.

5 Compare Nizāmuddin Aḥmad, *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Nawal Kishore, pp. 168, 552. The statement regarding *Aḥmad Khān Lōdi* is as follows :

"News arrived that *Aḥmad Khān Lōdi* son of *Mubārak Khān Lōdi*, *hākim* of Lukhnauti, has adopted, in the company of the infidels, the path of apostasy and has gone astray from the Islamic Religion". (p. 168).

The statement regarding *Nasir Khān* occurs in one of *Sūltān Maḥmud Sharqī*'s letters to *Sūltān Maḥmud Khaljī* of Malwa. In his letter seeking *Sūltān Maḥmud Khaljī*'s agreement with his plan to annex Kalpi, the Sharqī *Sūltān* denounces *Nasir Khān* in the following words :

"Turning his back on true *shart'at*, he has taken to irreligion and has given up prayers and fasting and has handed over Muslim women to Hindu instructors for training as dancers" (p. 552).

is absolutely nothing in these passages to justify the interpretation given to them by Prof. K.A. Nizami that Nasir Khan and Ahmad Khan had lost faith in Islam owing to the efforts of a 'Hindu proselytising movement.' A passing reference to Ahmad Khan Lodi's 'falling in the company of infidel' and 'adopting the path of apostasy' can hardly be treated as sufficient for assuming that there existed an organised movement aimed at subverting the religious beliefs of the Muslims. It would be more appropriate to treat this evidence as an indication of disapproval with which certain orthodox circles viewed the growing spirit of understanding and mutual adjustment between the Hindus and Muslims in general.¹

III

From the above discussion it is apparent that basic assumptions underlying the view that Shaikh Abdul Quddus was persuaded to cultivate closer relations with the political authorities on account of his anxiety to induce them to protect Islam against the ideological onslaught of an aggressive Hinduism are not borne out by the available evidence. Thus for a proper explanation of the change that took place in Shaikh Abdul Quddus' attitude towards the political authorities from 1491 onwards, one should look elsewhere. The circumstances that forced Shaikh Abdul Quddus to cultivate close relations with the contemporary rulers and influential nobles would become clearer if one focuses his attention on the specific statements, particularly requests, that he makes in his letters to the above authorities rather than trying to generalise on the basis of his stylistic flourishes.

Shaikh Abdul Quddus' letters to the men in positions of authority can be divided into two categories: (a) Those addressed to Afghan nobles: Khawass Khan, Dilawar Khan, Shaikh Salman Farmali, Shaikh Maruf Farmali, Shaikh Ahmad Farmali, Shaikh Raju Sarwanī, Said Khan Sarwanī, Haibat Khan Sarwanī and Ibrahim Khan Sarwanī; (b) Those addressed to Sikandar Lodi, Babur, Humayun

1 For a different kind of interpretation of such evidence see, for instance, I. H. Siddiqui, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, Aligarh, 1969, p. 34, who holds that Ahmad Khan Lodi was charged with heresy due to the catholicity of his views and friendship with the Hindu saints. It is worth remembering, in this connection, that Lodhan Brahman, who was executed during this time for proclaiming that both Islam as well as Hinduism were true religions, hailed from Ahmad Khan's charge.

and the Mughal nobles, Tardī Beg and Mirza Nūruddin.¹

The letters of category (a) are mainly in the nature of replies to queries relating to religious and mystic problems. In these letters, most of which appear to be written from Shahabad, i.e. during 1491-1525, there is hardly any reference to political matters or to the attitude of the authorities towards any section of the people. In this respect, a letter addressed to Haibat Khān Sarwānī ending with a prayer : 'May God enable you to be always kind to the 'ulamā and sulahā' will' at best be considered a doubtful exception.² Barring four personal communications addressed to Khāwass Khān, Haibat Khān, Dilāwar Khān and Shaikh Salmān Farmalī respectively,³ the letters of category (a) mainly contain Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' highly speculative expositions on religious questions. The problems dealt within these letters are described by the compiler of *Maktubāt-i Quddūsiya* in the following words :

Letter 10 : To Haibat Khān Sarwānī : 'Regarding removing duality from the world';

Letter 11 : To Ibrāhim Khān Sārwani : 'Regarding the advantages of using the material means at a proper time and disadvantages of using them in an improper

1 Here only the letters contained in *Maktubāt-i Quddūsiya* and six other letters printed as an appendix to the edition published by *Matb'a-i Ahmadi* are taken into account. Contents of the main text of the edition published by *Matb'a-i Ahmadi* are by and large the same as those of the eighteenth century MSS. preserved in Maulana Azad Library (No. 137, University Collection and No. 104, Lytton Collection). But the letters given as appendix are not to be found in these MSS. The edition published by *Mujtabāt* Press, Delhi in 1312/1894-5 as well as *I'jazul-Haq Quddūsi's Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' aur un ki T'alimat*, (Urdu), Karachi, 1961, referred to by Simon Digby are not accessible to this author.

2 *Maktubāt-i Quddūsiya*, published by *Matb'a-i Ahmadi*, hereafter referred to as *Maktubāt*), letter No. 15; p. 23. From *Laṭāif* (p. 41), one knows that Haibat Khān, son of 'Umar Khān Sarwānī, had very unfriendly attitude towards 'Abdul Quddūs. Apparently, the above line was meant to covey to Haibat Khān in a subtle way, Shaikh's distress over his unkind attitude.

3 *Maktubāt*, pp. 41, 41-42, 79, 86:

Letter No. 29, addressed to Shaikh Salmān Farmalī introducing one of his disciples who had gone to the camp (*lashkar*) for some business.

Letter No. 30, addressed to Khāwass Khān, politely turning down the Khān's request for an interview.

Letter No. 59, addressed to Haibat Khān Sarwānī, conveying in very intimate tone, his desire to see the Khān.

Letter No. 62, addressed to Dilāwar Khān, conveying condolences over his father's demise.

Another letter (No. 85) of the same type addressed to an Afghān of minor status, Miyan Bāyāzīd Pānīpatī, is being excluded from this list.

manner';

- Letter 15 : To Haibat Khān Sārwānī : 'Regarding the purpose of passing from one divine station to another and (what) pleases the God';
- Letter 32 : To Sa'id Khān Sārwānī : 'Regarding the transitory nature of the material wealth';
- Letter 45 : To M'arūf Farmalī : 'Regarding the meaning of a *hadīs*';
- Letter 46 : To M'arūf Farmalī : 'Regarding the astonishment of those who know the divine secret';
- Letter 47 : To Khāwass Khān : 'Regarding the concealment of the saints';
- Letter 48 : To Khāwass Khān : 'Regarding the medium of Divine Worship';
- Letter 49 : To Khāwass Khān : 'Regarding the subjugation of (one's) actions and beliefs to the divine love';
- Letter 53 : To 'Amād Farmalī : 'Regarding the two ways of abandoning the world';
- Letter 56 : To Shaikh Rājū Sarwānī : 'Regarding the quest for divine truth';
- Letter 117 : To Haibat Khān Sarwānī : 'Regarding variations in stages of *Khwāb-i Raghbāt* and those of a dream (occurring) in the sleep of annihilation ('adam) and firmness of the rules of *shari'at* about dream';

These letters no doubt indicate that shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs had wide contacts among the Afghān nobles. Down to 1526, many of the Afghān nobles appear to have held Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs in great esteem. They used to look up to him for guidance on theological questions : Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs himself was also eager to maintain close relations with high nobles. He would try to humour even such nobles whose dislike for him was well known.¹ With some others he seems to have shared deep personal understanding.² These contacts

1 Compare, for instance, 'Abdul Quddūs' letter to Haibat Khān, *Maktubāt*, pp. 23-24. See p. 9. f. n., 1.

2 In his letter to Dilāwar Khān conveying his condolences over Miyan Bhua's death, Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs goes out of his way in saying that he continued to stay at Shahabad mainly on account of the kindness and regard shown to him by Miyan Bhua. *Maktubāt*, p. 86.

brought considerable political patronage to Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs and those associated with him.¹ Apparently, subsequent to his moving to Shahabad (1491) he no longer regarded mixing with men in authority and seeking their patronage as degrading.² At the same time, this situation of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' relations with the nobles of the Lōdī empire does not at all indicate that he was particularly eager to influence the state policy in any significant manner.

The letters falling under category (b) are quite different from those of the category (a) in many respects. Firstly, all of these letters, excepting one addressed to Sikandar Lodi, were written some time after 1526 and are addressed to the first two Mughāl rulers and their nobles. Unlike those of category (a) these letters are not in the nature of replies to the queries sent by the addressees but appear to have been written by Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs on his own initiative, apparently to attract the attention of the authorities and to influence their attitude in matters effecting the position of the Muslim religious elite. An undercurrent of resentment over the curtailment of the grants and the harassment of the grant holders at the hands of the nobles and the state officials is a feature common to all these letters.

The earliest letter of this category is of course the one addressed to Sikandar Lodi. In this letter, there is specifically mentioned the grievance of the *a'imma* that they were being deprived of 'subsistence and stipends' which had driven them 'to the brink of death.' Requesting the *Sultān* to remedy this situation he observes: 'If, God forbid, he (the *Sultān*) does not look after the old, the pure, the *'ulamā* and the *mashāikh* and ignores them, the life would depart from the world'.³ Though it is difficult to guess the exact timing of this letter, one may infer that the grievance of the grantees mentioned in this letter must have arisen out of a common tendency on the part of the Afghan *wajahdārs* to usurp the revenue grants falling within their assignments.⁴

1 In 1491, he apparently received a grant from 'Umar Khān Sarwānī in *pargana* Shahabad. Towards 1525, his son, Ruknuddin, obtained a grant at Gangoh from Malik 'Uṣman Kararānī, *Lajāif*, anecdotes, 35 and 75, pp. 31, 62.

2 It seems, during the period of his stay at Rudauli, he used to feel great aversion for the company of men in authority. At one occasion, he is reported to have escaped into the jungle to avoid meeting the *dārogħa* of Rudauli. Apparently, his letter turning down Khawāss Khān's request for an interview dates back to the same period. Cf. *Lajāif*, 18-19 and *Maktubāt*, letter 30, pp. 41-42.

3 *Maktubāt*, letter, 34, pp. 44-6.

4 Cf. Proceedings of a case arising out of a dispute between a *wajahdār* and a grantee reported by Rizqullāh Muṣhtaqī, *Waqī'at-i Muṣhtaqī*, MS. British Museum, Or. 1929, ff. 13b-14a. Compare, I.H. Siddiqui's *History of Sher Shah*, Aligarh, 1971, p. 136. See also Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslim India*, reprint, Allahabad, pp. 71-2. According to him measures adopted by Farīd Khān to improve the

Partly this could also have been an outcome of the detection of unauthorized landholdings of the grantees by the newly streamlined revenue administration of Sikandar Lōdī,¹ manned at the lower rungs mainly by Persian knowing Hindus² which, incidentally, may also explain Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' dislike for the petty officials of the revenue administration in general and for the Hindus amongst them in particular.³ It is possible that immediate provocation prompting him to write such a letter was the hostile attitude of 'Umar Khān Sarwāni's sons, who, towards 1499, were planning to deprive him of a grant given to him by their father from the latter's *iqta'* at Shahabad.⁴ In any case, it seems, Sikandar Lōdī took effective steps to remove the general

administration of his father's assignment at Sahasram go to suggest that, during Sikandar Lōdī's reign, 'an assignee could in practice exercise the full powers of the executive administration.' He also notices that the allocation of this kind of assignments 'had raised difficulties in regard to small grants or endowments which might be included in them.'

1 Cf. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Muslim India*, pp. 71-2; S. Nurul Hasan, Farīd's Administration of his Father's *jāgīr*, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1964; I. H. Siddiqui, *Some Aspects of Afghān Despotism*, pp. 158-60. For a tendency on the part of the grantees to occupy more land than was prescribed in the royal orders; see 'Abbas Khān, *Tārikh-i Sher Shāhi*, MS. India Office 218, f. 112b.

From one of Babur's *farmans* (*Oriental College Magazine*, May 1933, p. 119) confirming a revenue grant made by Sikandar Lōdī, one gets the impression that under Lōdis the state officials had a tendency to levy '*ushr*' upon the grantees which practice then had no legal sanction. In his order, apparently, reaffirming the conditions attaching to the original grant, Bābur mentions '*ushr*', along with *dārogħāna* and *shiqdārāna*, as prohibited taxes.

2 According to Firishta (*Tārikh-i Firishta*, Nawal Kishore, p. 187), Sikandar Lodi encouraged Hindus to learn to write in Persian script. This is apparently, a reference to Hindus in the state service. The fact, that an appreciable number of high positions in the *Diwāni* were manned by Hindus since the Lōdī times, is borne out by Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' appeal to Bābur that Hindus be excluded from that Department. (cf. *Māktūbāt*, letter 169, p. 337).

3 Denouncing his one time friend and *murid*, Shaikh 'Abur Rahmān, for accepting a job in the Department of *Diwāni* Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs writes: 'Leaving the employment of God, you have entered into the employment of the *Diwān*. . . . you have become a friend of the *Diwān* and have turned a *shaijān* (devil) and have left *Rahmān* (God)'. *Māktūbāt*, appendix, letter 3, pp. 357. See also letter 169 p. 337, wherein he pleads that in an Islamic state 'infidels' must not be allowed to hold high offices in the *Diwāni*.

4 *Laṭāif*, anecdote 57, p. 41. This might in turn suggest that 'Abdul Quddūs wrote this letter some time around 1499, as it is known that Haibat Khān, and S'a'id Khān accused of conspiring against Sikandar Lōdī, were disgraced in that year. From the anecdote narrated by Ruknuddin, it would appear that these two were disgraced soon after they announced their plans to drive out 'Abdul Quddūs from Shahabad.

grievance of the grant holders.¹ In taking these steps how far was he influenced by Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' 'advice' is difficult to say. The main consideration urging the Lodi Sultāns to adopt an exceptionally liberal policy in matters effecting the interests of the grant holders must have been their anxiety to create a wider social base for the Afghān power in India. This policy of placating the grant holders became still more marked under Ibrāhīm Lodi.² On account of his breach with the nobility, he was obviously in greater need of their support. It would appear that the policy of the Lodi Sultāns to placate the grant holders was not entirely fruitless. Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' sympathetic attitude towards Ibrahim Lodi and his decision, on the eve of the Battle of Panipat, to find safety in the rear of the Afghān forces, were indications of the general disposition of his own social category of the grant holders, towards the Lodi ruler.³ It is, however, significant that apart from the above letter, Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs is not known to have made any other move to come closer to the Lodi Sultāns or influence their policies in any particular way. From this, one may infer that, till this time, Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs had no pretensions of being a political reformer, and his letter to Sikandar Lodi was written from purely mundane motives. Once the general grievance of the grant holders was to some extent removed and, more important than that, once Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' own grant at Shahabad was secured as a result of the dismissal of 'Umar Khān's sons, Haibat Khān and Sa'id Khān, in 1499, he seems to have lost interest in communicating with the rulers. Apparently, being a man of ascetic tendencies, he was contented with the patronage that was extended to him by his friends and admirers amongst the nobles.

Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' letter to Bābur, however, presents him in a

1 One significant measure adopted by him was the addition of a clear statement in the orders conferring *wajahs* on the nobles laying down that the assignments did not include the *amlak* and *wazā'iif*, located in the respective *parganas*.

To further extend the scope of state patronage, Sikandar Lodi is reported to have given away the revenues of the newly conquered territory of Nagarkot amounting to three lacs *tankas* as grants. He also urged his nobles to give temporary grants from their *wajahs*. Cf. *Wāqi'iṭ-i Mushtaqī*, ff. 14a and 32b and *Tārikh-i Dāudi*, edited by Shaikh 'Abdur Rashid, Aligarh, 1969, pp. 38, 41. Compare, I. H. Siddiqui, *History of Sher Shah*, pp. 133, 136.

2 *Tārikh-i Sher Shāhi*, ff. 112a-113a, *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, p. 343; *Tārikh-i Firishta*, p. 189.

3 See *Lataif*, anecdotes, 77 and 88, pp. 63, 71. From Dattu Sarwāni's account in the *Lataif* (Anecdotes, 88) it appears that Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs visited Agra one year before the Battle of Panipat. He might have gone there on Ibrāhīm Lodi's invitation. From Anecdote 77, it is obvious that Ibrāhīm Lodi held him in high esteem around this time. Compare, Simon Digby, *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, Vol. III, p. 10-11.

somewhat different role. In this letter we find him for the first time offering advice to a ruler regarding a number of matters relating to the state policy. The general tenor of this letter is rather harsh and insistent indicating an agitated frame of mind. Emphasising the need for establishing *shari'at* all over the empire, Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs puts forward following suggestions for Bābur's consideration:¹

- (a) That the Hindus be excluded from high offices, particularly those of the Department of *Dīwāni*;
- (b) That the offices of the *amīns* of the *vilayets* be given only to pious Muslims;
- (c) That the revenue be assessed and realized in strict conformity with the tenets of *shari'at*;
- (d) That the Hindus be forced to adhere to their traditional professions;
- (e) That the Hindus be made to realize their inferior status as compared to Muslims;
- (f) That the Hindus be prevented from wearing the same kind of dress as was put on by the Muslims;
- (g) That *muhtasibs* be appointed in each town for suppressing unfair practices in the markets.

It was, apparently, this programme of action put forward by Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs, which is characterised by some of the modern historians as an attempt at 'reform' and 'education.'

It is difficult to say with any degree of certainty as to what could have been the reasons for Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' adopting this new role after the establishment of the Mughal rule in Hindustan. In this connection, however, one must not overlook the fact that in this letter Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' main concern is again the same that permeates his letter to Sikandar Lodi, namely, the treatment of the grant holders by authorities. His letters to Hūmayūn, Mīrzā Nūruddin and Tardī Beg are also in the same strain.

One specific complaint that he mentions in his letter to Bābur relates to the latter's decision to realize '*ushr*' or a tax amounting to 1/10 of the total revenues granted to a person as *madad-i m'aāsh*. There is no evidence to indicate as to when did Bābur actually introduce this tax. In one of Bābur's undated orders confirming a grant issued by Sikandar Lōdī in 'sarkar Tātār Khān,' '*ushr*' is mentioned as one of those collections from which the grant holder concerned was exempted.² This would suggest

1 *Maktubāt*, letter 169, pp. 335-37.

2 Compare, Bābur's order published in *The Oriental College Magazine*, May 1933, p. 119.

that a tendency on the part of the revenue officials to realize '*ushr*' from grantees dated back to Sikandar Lodi's reign. Apparently, for some time after the establishment of his rule in Hindustan, Bābur discouraged the realization of '*ushr*' from the grantees. Bābur might have changed his attitude in this respect towards October 1528, when, on account of financial exigency he was forced to curtail the *wajahs* of his nobles by 30%.¹ While scoffing at his decision to levy '*ushr*' Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs insinuates in unmistakable terms that Bābur was trying to solve his financial difficulties at the cost of the grantees.²

This controversy regarding the legality of imposing '*ushr*' on income from revenue grants was perhaps an outcome of the prevailing confusion among jurists and administrators about the nature of rights enjoyed by the grantees over the land marked out for their grants. According to one view, these grants, which, till this time, were given exclusively to the Muslims, conferred on the recipients nothing more than a right 'to collect, the land revenue and to keep it.' A corollary of this view would be that the rights created by these grants would neither be proprietary nor alienable. Succession to these grants would thus be regulated by the orders of the king rather than the rules of '*shari'at*'. Moreover, on the land marked out for such grants the occupancy and proprietary rights of different categories of Hindu *r'āyā* would remain unaffected.³ A parallel interpretation, apparently representing the aspirations of the grantees, however, contended that 'the land' given away by the King to a Muslim as a grant would become his *milkīyat* which could neither be resumed nor confiscated; on such land all the other kind of rights should lapse altogether.⁴

One may guess that till the Lodi period, there was a visible tendency to confuse the revenue grants with one or the other kind of proprietary rights on land. The tendency on the part of the state officials to demand

1 *Bābur Nāma*, tr. by A. S. Beveridge, reprint, London, 1969, p. 617.

2 'Begging from a needy person is not wise, How do you justify taking something from a *faqir*?' (*Maktubāt*, p. 336).

3 These were the principles governing the nature of the *madad-i m'aāsh* grants from Akbar's reign onwards. For references see Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Asia Publishing House, 1963, pp. 299-306.

4 This is the view vigorously advocated by Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' *murid* and *khalifa*, Shaikh Jalaluddin Thanesarī (d. 989 H./1581-82), in his treatise on the nature of land rights in Hindustan entitled *Tahqiq-i 'Arāzi-i Hind*, Arabic text and its Urdu translation published by Saiyed S'aīd Ashraf Nadavī from Karachi in 1963.

(This book is being translated in English by Mr. Zafarul Islam of Department of History, AMU, to whom I am greatly beholden for having very kindly allowed me to use a copy of S'aīd Ashraf Nadavī's Urdu translation located by him in the Library of the *Institute of Islamic Studies*, AMU, Aligarh).

'ushr from the grantees stemmed from this confusion.¹ But on the other hand there is also available ample evidence indicating that throughout the *Sultanate* period the political authorities never entirely acquiesced in the demand that the land falling under revenue grants be treated as the *milkīyat* of the persons holding them. Periodic assessment, of the value of the grants and the insistence of the authorities that succession to them must always be subject to a confirmation by the king go to show that the grantholders were never allowed to enjoy the kind of security of tenure that goes with the concept of proprietaryship.²

It seems that the debate regarding the nature of rights enjoyed by the grantees became particularly sharp during the reign of Sikandar Lodi, when, apparently, considerable furore was created as a result of the detection of unauthorised land-holdings of the grantees. We have already noticed the manner in which Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs has reacted to those measures.³ From *Tahaqqiq-i Arāzi-i Hind* one further comes to know that during the Lodi period a number of *fatwas* were issued wherein it was contended that the land assigned under revenue grants held by the Muslims be treated as their *milkīyat*.⁴ This controversy seems to have erupted with renewed vigour under Bābur on account of his decision to formally levy 'ushr on the income from revenue grants. In doing so he would have conceded by implication the theoretical position taken by the jurists representing the interests of the grantees that the land covered by the revenue grants was the *milkīyat* of the grantees; according to the rules of *shari'at* the king could levy 'ushr only on those lands that were the *milkīyat* of the Muslims. But as is evident from Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' letter cited above such a far-reaching concession at a theoretical level was not fully appreciated by a considerable section of the grantees. The *fatwas* quoted by Jalāluddin Thānesarī and

1 For a tendency on the part of the officials of the Lodi empire to impose 'ushr upon the grantees see Bābur's order confirming a grant established by Sikandar Lodi, *The Oriental College Magazine*, May 1973, p. 119.

2 See, for instance, *Futuhus-Salatin*, Madras, 1943, pp. 390-91 wherein 'Isānī tells us that a grant of two villages held by his forefathers was renewed by each king after his accession till the rise of the Tughlaqs. This grant was resumed by Ghīyāsuddīn Tughlaq. For more references compare, I. H. Siddiqui, *History of Sher Shah*, p. 135.

3 Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' letter to Sikandar Lodi, *Maktubat*, pp. 44-6. See also *supra*, typescript, 11-12.

4 *Tahaqqiq-i Arāzi-i Hind*, pp. 560-62. Jalāluddin Thānesarī quotes a *fatwa* issued by his uncle, apparently, some time during the Lodi period, in which it was contended that the land given by a ruler to a Muslim as *milk* or declared to be so by a *qazī* would automatically become the *milkīyat* of persons concerned. Cf. *Risāla dar Jawāz-i Arāzi*, MS. nos 523-27 (*Fiqh*, Arabic), Shesta collection, Maulana Azad Library, f. 7b. The name of Jalāluddin Thānesarī's uncle is given as Qāzī Mau-lana Muḥammad Thānesarī.

'Abdul Qūddus' letter to Bābur bear out the fact that the real anxiety of the '*ulamā*' belonging to this particular circle was to have the *milkīyat* rights of the grantees recognised without their being asked to pay the '*ushr*' on the produce of the land occupied by them.

Apparently, the scheme to institute '*ushr*' as a legal tax was conceived in the Department of *Diwāni* rather than the office of the *Sadr*. On account of his prejudice against the Hindu officials of the *Diwāni*, Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs seems to have held them mainly responsible for the institution of this 'illegal' tax. This is shown by his insistence that the land revenue be assessed and collected in strict conformity with the tenets of *sharī'at*, and that the Hindus be excluded from the revenue administration. Thus, notwithstanding the pontifical tenor of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' letter to Bābur, it would yet be interpreted as an attempt to represent before the Mughal ruler the demands of the Muslim religious elite providing for the security of their share in the available social surplus.

In any case, Bābur seems to have totally ignored Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' request that the realisation of '*ushr*' from the grantees be discontinued. This is borne out by Shaikh 'Abpul Quddūs' letter to Humāyūn written some time after the latter's accession wherein he again pleads that 'whatever is bestowed upon them ought to be in tax tenure (*marfū'u'l-qalam*) to prevent trouble being caused to them in their devotion by base people (*nā-ahlān*).'¹ One may guess that Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' other proposals would also have met the same fate. This is partly corroborated by the evidence contained in *Laṭāif-i-Quddusi* suggesting that down to August 1529 he had little standing with the Mughal officers administering *pargana Gangoh*.² As late as 940/23 July 1533-13 July 1534, Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs would be regarded by the Mughal authorities as one of the many provincial *sūfis* seeking

1 *Maktubāt*, p. 338. This translation of the text is taken from Simon Digby's article in *Medieval India: A Miscellany* (Vol. III, p. 34). Cf. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1969, p. 310. Zamiruddin Siddiqi has translated this text differently, but his translation appears to be misleading. The text of the MS. used by Zamiruddin Siddiqi No. 137, University Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh) in fact conveys the above meaning still more explicitly. It reads: 'waz ta'arrużāt bi-lkulliya masnūn bashand.

2 From *Laṭāif* (p. 68), one comes to know that the agents of Mir Hasan 'Ali, who was, apparently, given a *wajah* in *pargana Gangoh* in August 1520 (*Bābur Nāma*, p. 689), harassed the grant-holders (*fugara' w zu'affā*) of that place ignoring Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' pleadings on behalf of those people.

state patronage.¹ Under these circumstances, he is unlikely to have really exercised any worthwhile influence on the state policies. Apparently, the suggestions contained in his letter to Bābur were one sided expression of opinions which were not taken seriously by the King.

IV

From Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' six hitherto unnoticed letters, given at the end of the Delhi edition of *Maktubat-i Quddusīya* with a note by the publishers (or the compiler of the parent MSS.) that these were obtained from the library of his son, Shaikh Ḥamīduddīn,² one is informed that some time after 940/1533-1534³ he was trying desperately to obtain a grant from Humāyūn for the maintenance of his family. He had sent his eldest son, Shaikh Ḥamīduddīn, to Agra in the company of his friend and disciple, Shaikh 'Abdru Rahmān Shāhābādī, to seek an interview with the King. They were also entrusted with the task of obtaining a grant from the Emperor. To help them in their mission Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs approached Humāyūn's brother-in-law, Shaikh Nūrūddīn Beg, with a request that he should use his influence in their favour. But, it seems, Shaikh Ḥamīduddīn's visit to Agra at this occasion, proved to be a total failure. He was neither able to see the King nor could obtain a grant for his family. Shaikh Nūrūddīn Beg did not take much notice of him. This must have been a frustrating experience for Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs who somehow held Shaikh 'Abdur Rahmān responsible for his disappointment. In his letters to Shaikh Nūrūddīn, he accuses Shaikh 'Abdur Rahmān of double dealing, breach of faith and of trying to mislead the authorities at Agra by spreading false stories about him.⁴

1 *Maktubat*, p. 274. In one of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' letters to Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman, written some time before his final break with the latter, he mentions his own age as approaching eighty. As one knows that Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs was born in 860 H. one may presume that till 940/23 July 1533-13 July 1534, he had not yet quarrelled with Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman. This would in turn suggest that Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' unsuccessful efforts for obtaining a grant for the support of his family in the course of which he quarrelled with Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman date from a still later period. (For the details of this episode see *infra*).

2 *Maktubat*, pp. 356-60. In addition to Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' letters, this appendix also contains one letter of Shaikh Ḥamīduddīn addressed to his father. In this letter Ḥamīduddīn intercedes on behalf of Shaikh 'Abdul Rahman who had been disowned by Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs for having taken up a job in the Department of *Diwani*.

3 See *supra*, p. 20 f. n. 3 where it has been argued that Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs would have approached Humayun for a grant some time after 940/23 July 1533-13 July 1534.

4 This information can be gleaned from Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' letter to Shaikh Nūrūddīn Beg, *Maktubat*, pp. 359-60.

From the abusive letters that he wrote to Shaikh 'Abdur Rahmān about this time it appears that the latter, after reaching Agra, had deserted Hamīduddin and had taken up a job in the Department of *Dīwanī*¹. To remedy this situation, Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs appears to have sent another of his sons, Shaikh Ahmad, in the company of his close friend and *khalifa*, Shaikh Jalāluddīn Thānesarī² to the royal camp. But, apparently, these two as well were not very successful. Their stay in the camp was unduly prolonged which made Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs still more anxious about the outcome of his request for state assistance.³ No further information is available regarding this episode and one is left in the dark about the subsequent developments.

One may presume that these efforts of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs to attract Humāyūn's attention and obtain financial support from him were not entirely fruitless. Towards the last two or three years of his life he was able to come quite closer to Humāyūn. He must have also succeeded in obtaining considerable financial support from the state which is testified by his more comfortable style of living during this time. To be able to maintain his contacts at the court, Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs appears to have acquired a respectable appartament at Agra where Humāyūn would often visit him.⁴ These changed circumstances also influenced the attitude of the local officials of *pargana* Gangoh. They would no longer be indifferent to Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' requests but, on the other hand, would go out of their way to ensure that

1 See letters Nos. 1, 3, 4 and 5 contained in appendix to *Maktubat*, pp. 356-58.

2 Jalāluddīn Thānesarī, a *murid* and *khalifa* of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs died in 989/1581-82 at the ripe age of ninety five. 'Abdul Ḥaq Dihlivī refers to him as 'Shaikh Jalāluddīn Thānesarī al-Kābulī' which goes to suggest that he belonged to a family that had migrated from Kabul to settle at Thanesar. *Akhbār-āl Akhīyār*, Delhi, 1322 H. p. 338).

In *Maktubāt-i Quddūsiya*, there are a number of letters addressed to Jalaluddīn Thānesarī. These letters go to highlight the bond of mutual trust and regard that existed between him and Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs Gangohī.

Badaunī claims to have met him in 969 H./1561-62 while he was on a visit to Agra to plead the case of the *a'imma* of Thanesar *Muntakhabut Tawārikh*, vol. III, Bib. Ind. Series, p. 4),

We have already noticed a treatise written by Jalaluddīn Thānesarī in Arabic entitled *Tahqīq-i Arazi-i Hind* which deals with the nature of the land rights in India.

3 *Maktubāt*, p. 339, letter 172, addressed to Shaikh Jalaluddīn Thānesarī.

4 *Ain-i Akbari*, Nawal Kishore, 1297 H., p. 176. Compare, Simon Digby, *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, Vol. III, Aligarh, pp. 11-12 and f. n. 57, wherein it is argued that the continuative past tense of the verbs *shāde*, *pazirafte* in Abul Fazal's note imply that Humāyūn was in the habit of visiting the Shaikh. One knows from Dattu Sarwanī's account contained in *Lāṭāif* that, some time between April and July 1537, Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs was staying at Agra. Compare, Simon Digby: *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, vol. III, p. 11.

none of their actions should cause annoyance or inconvenience to him.¹ It is, however, noteworthy that there does not exist any evidence indicating that during this time, Shaikh Abdul Quddūs tried to influence the state policy, in any significant manner. He might have succeeded in persuading Humāyūn to abolish 'ushr instituted by Bābur but this would have been a minor matter as compared to the other drastic changes advocated by him in his letter to Bābur. It is difficult to imagine that Humāyūn would have attempted to enforce all those stringent measures against his Hindu subjects. From the above narration of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' relations with Humāyūn it is obvious that, all said and done, his status in the eyes of the Mughal authorities would still be that of a divine seeking royal patronage. This would leave scope for his presuming to advocate a change in the state policy in the same bold and disinterested manner as he had done in his letter to Bābur, at a time, when, apparently, he was not hopeful of securing any kind of support or patronage from the Mughal authorities.

V

The above survey of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' relations with the political authorities enables one to arrive at certain interesting conclusions.

Firstly, regarding the assumptions underlying the view that Shaikh Abdul Quddūs established close relations with the contemporary rulers with an aim to persuade them to protect Islam against the ideological onslaught of Hinduism, one can safely assert that these are not borne out by the available evidence. The evidence cited by Prof. K. A. Nizami in this respect is, to say the least, inadequate.

On the other hand, there is available ample evidence highlighting the growing spirit of tolerance and understanding between the Hindus and the Muslims during the Lōdī period. It is possible to establish that, during this time, the political loyalties of a majority of the people were not determined by their religious affinities. The common people, Hindus as well as Muslims, had come to regard the Delhi Sultanate as a legitimate symbol of political authority. A majority of them, apparently, regarded the Afghān rulers as their protectors. It is borne out so clearly by the manner in which Gurū Nānak records the grief of the people over the fall of the Lōdī dynasty.²

1 *Lataif*, p. 60.

2 Compare, Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. I. Oxford, 1909. pp. 112-13. On seeing some women weeping and shirking in the Mughal prison camp at Saidpur, Nānak recited a rhyme which contained the following lines :

'When Babur's rule was proclaimed no Pathan prince ate his food. Some lost their five times prayer, others their hours of worship.
How shall Hindu women now bathe and apply frontal marks without their

A distinctive feature of this period was the rise of a new tendency among orthodox 'ulama which leaned towards a more tolerant view of the legal rights of the different sections of the Hindu *r'āyā*. Most significant indication of this tendency was the insistence of an influential section of the orthodox 'ulama that proprietary and occupancy rights of the Hindu *r'āyā* on land left in their hands at the time of Turkish conquest could not be disturbed. Many of these 'ulama joined issues with their co-religionists who were demanding that the rights of the Hindu *zamindars* and peasants on land be abolished altogether. Jalāluddin Thanesarī has referred to the views of some of the 'ulamā who held that the real owners of land in Hindūstān were the members of the dominant castes enjoying superior rights on land and its produce. Some others, following the well-known precept of *Hanafi* Law, contended that having imposed a settlement upon the Hindu subjects recognising the agricultural land as *khirāji* land, the Islamic political authority was legally barred from disturbing the rights enjoyed by the Hindu landed classes.¹ Another interesting example was that of Miyan 'Abdullāh Ajōdhānī's firm stand on the issue of temple destruction. He opposed Sikandar Lodi's plans to demolish Hindu temples at Kurukshetra, condemning such a practice as illegal.² This trend seems to have become a distinct strain in the Muslim religious thought in India during the sixteenth century. Apparently, a large number of orthodox 'ulama accused by Bādāunī of hypocrisy and double dealing for their supporting Akbar's policies based on the principles of *sulh-i kul*, represented this new tendency.

Secondly, a detailed examination of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs' correspondence with the contemporary rulers goes to show that at no stage in his career was he really in a position to influence their policies. There is hardly any evidence suggesting that he ever tried to adopt the role of a political reformer. His relationship with the political authorities was always that of client and his patron. It was only on two occasions that he acted as the spokesman of the grant holders feeling aggrieved over the curtailment of their perquisites: Once during Sikandar Lodi's reign and then during Bābur's reign. However, towards, the end of his career, he seems to have abandoned even this limited role.

sacred squares?

They who never thought of Rām are not now allowed even to mention *Khudā*.
One may return to her home; another may meet and inquire after the safety
of a relation;

But others are destined to sit and weep in pain.

What pleases God, O Nanak, shall happen ; what is man?

1 Cf. Shaikh Jalāluddin Thanesarī, *Tahaqqquq-i Arāzi-i Hind*, pp. 566, 584-85, 594-95.
2 *Tārikh-i Dāudi*, pp. 29-30.

**THE MAGNITUDE OF THE LAND-REVENUE DEMAND AND
THE INCOME OF THE MUGHAL RULING CLASS UNDER
AKBAR**

SHIREEN Moosvi

THE abundant statistics in the *A'in-i Akbari* of Abu'l Fazl, have been the subject of scholarly study for quite some time. The *A'in* furnishes us with a large variety of quantitative data on land-revenue, prices, etc. An attempt is made in the present article to interpret the data (mainly for the region corresponding to the present state of Uttar Pradesh) in order to explore three important elements of the economy of the time: The total share of the agricultural produce represented by Akbar's cash revenue-rates levied on the cultivators; the extent of cultivation; and the total share of the gross agricultural product actually appropriated by the Mughal ruling class (the Emperor and the *jagirdars*).

Before investigating the statistical evidence, it is necessary to enter a word about the textual problems involved in a study of the *A'in-i Akbari*. Blochmann's text,¹ as yet the standard edition, was not based on the best or earliest MSS. and is not free from errors. I have, therefore, used the two early MSS. in the British Museum² in order to check and, wherever necessary, correct Blochmann's figures. Besides this, certain errors in the *A'in*'s table of the 'Account of the Twelve *Sūbas*' can be detected by adding up the *pargana* figures, and comparing them with the *sarkār* totals.³

Abu'l Fazl tells us that practically the whole of the territory from Lahore to Allahabad was under the *zabt* system of assessment.⁴ He has also given us detailed tables of revenue-rates stated in cash—the so-called *dastūr-ul 'amals*—for various crops, under different circles, each comprising a group of *parganas*.⁵

From Abu'l Fazl's formula for the calculation of the revenue-rates on

1 *A'in-i Akbari*, ed. Blochmann, Bib. Ind., Vol. I.

2 Or. 6552 and add. 7652 (microfilms in the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University).

3 W.H. Moreland suggested and applied this test for checking the accuracy of individual figures in his article, 'The Agricultural Statistics of Akbar's Empire,' *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society (JUPHS)*, Lucknow, II, Part (I), pp. 1-39.

4 *Zabt* signified fixation of cash-rates on each crop per *bigha*, the unit of area, equal to 0.6 acre. It, therefore, implied previous measurement of land sown with the crops on which the rates were fixed.

5 *A'in*, I, p. 348.

the basis of Sher Shah's *rai's*, it has been assumed that Akbar's *dastūrs* too were equal to one-third of the yield per *bigha* multiplied by the harvest price,¹ except in the case of certain cash crops.² However, there is no direct statement to this effect in Abu'l Fazl. Moreover, neither the officially determined crop-yields nor the harvest prices current in the various *dastūr*-circles at the time the *dastūr*-rates were in force, are known. It is, therefore, not possible to apply any simple checks to confirm this assumption which has so far been generally accepted. But certain other available data can still be used to test the plausibility of the assumption.

The *Ā'in* gives us the prices prevalent at the imperial camp;³ and it also reproduces the crop-yields (*rai's*) accepted by Sher Shah's administration for fixing revenue-rates in kind.⁴ The latter, according to Abu'l Fazl, were (generally?) lower than the yields determined by Akbar's administration for various localities.⁵

The prices recorded for the imperial camp were, of course, market prices, and must have been substantially higher than harvest prices in the localities around Agra, the seat of the imperial camp for most of the reign.⁶

By dividing the *dastūrs* by the *Ā'in*'s prices for the imperial camp, we would naturally get not the actual revenue-rate in kind, but a revenue-rate much lower than the actual, in proportion to the difference between the local harvest prices (not known to us) and the market prices at the imperial camp. If we multiply the rates in kind so obtained by 3, we would therefore get a figure for yield per *bigha*, which should again be lower than the actual yield (or, rather, lower than the yield taken as the basis for fixing the *dastūrs* by Akbar's administration). We can perhaps make some adjustments for the difference between the *Ā'in*'s prices and the prices current in neighbouring localities, in accordance with the differences prevalent between the prices at Agra and these localities, during the decade 1865-66 to 1874-75.⁷ This would raise the figures for yields in localities other than Agra; but the yields must still be regarded as substantially lower than the officially estimated yields in 1595, because (a) we are still calculating on the basis of market prices, and (b) the price differences between Agra and the other localities were likely to be

¹ W.H. Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, 2nd Ed. 1968, p. 83; Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Bombay, pp. 219-230.

² *Ā'in*, I, p. 230.

³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 60

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 292-3. Cf. Moreland in *JRAS*, 1926, pp. 454 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p. 294.

⁶ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 82.

⁷ *Wages and Prices in India*, Calcutta, 1895.

larger around 1595 than during 1866-75, owing to less developed means of transport in the earlier period.

Table I gives (A) the average yields based on the *rai's* of Sher Shāh (1540-45) as set out in the *Ā'in*; (B) the productivity or the crop-yield deduced from the *dastūrs* and prices given in the *Ā'in* presumably true for 1595; and (C) the average yields officially calculated for 1870, in

TABLE I
(All figures in *man-i Akbari* per *bighā-i Ilāhi*)

Crops	(A) Average Yield 1540-45	(B) 'Minimum' Yield 1595	(C) Average Yield 1870
(a) A G R A			
Wheat	12.96	16.80	13.13
Barley	12.93	18.45	12.34
Gram	10.93	16.77	7.12
Jowar	10.35	13.42	7.67
Bajra	7.62	11.75	4.23
Moth	5.16	7.27	3.56
M'āsh	7.77	7.55	3.34
(b) A L I G A R H (Kol)			
Wheat	12.96	16.66	15.56
Barley	12.93	18.89	14.24
Gram	10.93	17.47	7.57
Jowar	10.35	11.68	9.35
Bajra	7.62	9.45	7.79
(c) D E L H I			
Wheat	12.96	16.52	12.60
Barley	12.93	12.74	10.90
Gram	10.93	11.55	9.00
Jowar	10.35	11.52	7.50
Bajra	7.62	10.08	7.20

respect of Agra, Delhi and Aligarh.¹ As for (A), the figures from Sher Shah's *rai's* are simple averages of yields assigned to good, middling and bad lands. These in turn, are presumably based on the conditions in the regions around Agra and Delhi, although this is not clarified in the *Ā'in*. The figures under (B) for Agra calculated, by simply dividing the *dastūrs* for the circle of *Haveli Agra*, and (C) by the prices given in the *Ā'in* and then multiplying the result by 3. The figures for the circles of Delhi and Kol (the older name of Aligarh) are obtained by dividing the *dastūrs* for these circles by the *Ā'in's* prices modified according to the price differences between these places and Agra (deduced from the price data for the decade 1866-75) and then multiplying the result by 3. The figures under (C) (those for 1870) have been converted into *man-i Akbarī* per *bigha-i Ilāhī*, at one *man-i Akbarī* to 0.67 British-Indian maund and one *bigha-i Ilāhī* to 0.6 acre², so as to present all figures in uniform units.

This table brings out one striking fact: The close proximity of the yields estimated by Sher Shah's administration to the productivity officially calculated for Agra and Delhi in 1870, in respect of such major crops as wheat, barley, gram, bajra and cotton. In case of the remaining crops, Sher Shah's *rai'* assumes a higher yield, though only occasionally by substantial margin. This strongly suggests that the yields estimated by Sher Shah were largely realistic, at least in respect of Agra and Delhi.

But this can hardly be said about the 'minimum yields' calculated from the *Ā'in's* *dastūrs*. For reasons already explained, the actual estimated yields must have been significantly higher than these 'minimum yields,' and yet these 'minimum yields' are generally higher by one-third than both the standard average yield of 1540-45 and the officially estimated yields for Agra and Delhi in 1870. If this was the case with 'minimum yields,' the actual estimated yields on which the *dastūrs* were presumably formulated, must have been still higher, reaching probably to one and a half times Sher Shah's estimates and the 1870 yields.

It would be very unreasonable to assume that there was a rise in productivity of a magnitude of 50% between 1545 and 1595, and then a fall to the 1545 level by 1870. The yield worked out for 1595 on the basis of the *dastūrs* being one-third of the value of the produce could not, therefore, possibly be correct. Given Sher Shah's *rai'*, the value of the real yield could have been no more than about double the *dastūrs*.

It is thus improbable that the *dastūrs* represented only one-third of the

1 For Agra: Atkinson, *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account*, IV, Part II, p. 368. For Delhi: *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Vol., XXIX A, pp. 97-8. For Aligarh: W.H. Smith, *Final Settlement Report, District Aligarh*, pp. 82-7.

(I owe guidance to the last work to Jamal Mohammad Siddiqi).

2 Irfan Habib, *op. cit.*, pp. 362, 381.

value of the produce: The proportion must have been no less than one-half. This can be shown by still another means.

Official estimates of the value of output per unit of area of various crops are available for Agra¹ and Aligarh², for 1870. Had the *dastûrs* approximated to one-third of the value of the produce, they should also have approximated to a third of the value of the officially estimated yield in 1870, after adjustments to allow for the rise in prices. The scale of the rise in prices between 1595 and 1870 can be worked out from the prices in the *Ā'īn* and the prices for the decade 1866-75, reported from Agra. The rise in harvest prices must have been greater than in the market prices, since, with improved means of communication and transport, the margin of difference between harvest and market prices must have diminished during the 19th century.

Column A in the Tables II (a & b below) gives the *Ā'īn's dastûr* for certain crops for the circles of Agra, &c., and Kol (Aligarh), while column B gives the value of output per unit of area (here converted into *dâms* per *bîgha Ilâhî*, from Rupees per acre), as estimated in 1870.

TABLE 2

Crops	A <i>Dastûr</i>	B Value of output	C	D	E
(a) AGRA					
1. Wheat	67.08	835.20	4.1	6.2	5.0
2. Barley	49.20	418.40	3.5	4.3	6.0
3. Gram	44.72	300.00	2.2	3.3	5.2
4. Jowar	44.72	422.40	3.1	4.7	4.6
5i Bajra	31.32	451.68	4.8	7.2	6.0
Average			3.50	5.14	5.36
(b) ALIGARH (KOL)					
1. Wheat	63.36	833.76	4.3	6.5	5.0
2. Barley	40.24	582.76	4.8	7.0	6.0
3. Gram	33.80	408.00	3.8	5.7	5.2
4. Jowar	35.76	466.28	4.3	6.5	4.6
5. Bajra	24.60	211.68	3.8	5.6	6.0
Average			4.20	6.26	5.36

1 Atkinson, *op. cit.*, IV, Part II *op. cit.*

2 Final Settlement Report, *op. cit.*

Columns C and D show the result, respectively, of $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ of B divided by A. Column E exhibits the 1870 market prices divided by the $\bar{A}'in$'s prices.

It can now be seen that while on average the market prices went up by 5.36 times since 1595, the value of one-third of the produce in 1870 amounts, on average, to only 3.54 times the *dastūrs* for Agra and 4.20 in Kol (Aligarh). On the other hand the value of half the produce as estimated in 1870 was 5.14 times the *$\bar{A}'in$ dastūrs*, for Agra and 6.26 times for those of Kol. In other words, the enhancement in value of yield keeps pace with the rise in prices only if it is assumed that the *dastūrs* represented a half, and not a third of the produce. Indeed, since harvest prices are likely to have risen rather more than market prices, the difference between the *dastūrs* and the average estimated value of the crops, divided by 2, should be expected to be a little more than the difference in the market prices. This is practically what we get in the Table 2.

The *dastūrs* represented the value of the share of each crop that the peasant had to part with, in order to satisfy the land-revenue demand. We have now established that at least judging from comparative data of the value of yields, the share of the produce accounted for by the *dastūrs* was about half. This obviously requires a revision of the usual modern statements on the subject.¹

The next question, I am concerned with is, whether the ruling class was in fact able to realise this enormous surplus.

II

A means of estimating the realised surplus exists in the detailed *jama'* and *ārāzī* statistics of the *$\bar{A}'in$* . In its 'Account of the Twelve *Śubas*'², the *$\bar{A}'in$* gives us figures for the *jama'* and *ārāzī* for each *pargana*.³ These data can form the basis for working out the ratio that existed between the total claim (the *dastūrs*) and the actual realised surplus (*jama'* per *bigha*). However, before we can proceed to make any calculations, the exact significance of the terms *jama'* and *ārāzī* has to be established.

It was on the basis of the *jama'* figures that *jāgīrs* were assigned in lieu of salary: The *jama'* of the area assigned in *jāgīr* had to equal exactly the pay-claim of the assignee (usually a *mansabdār*). Theoretically, the *mansabdār* could be transferred to the cash-list receiving his pay in cash

1 W.H. Moreland, 'Sher Shah's Revenue System,' *JRAS* 1926 pp. 447-59; Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 192.

2 *$\bar{A}'in$* , I pp. 386-595.

3 It may be noted that the figures described as *jama'* in the *śuba*-totals are designated *nagdi* in the detailed tables. *Ārāzī* is the heading given in the tables; the *śuba*-level figures are designated *zamin-i paimuda*, 'measured land.'

at any moment. The *jama'* could not, therefore, have represented the gross income collected by the *jāgīrdār*, but only the net income expected to be gained by him (i.e. total assessment *less* allowance for short-falls and cost of collection). But at the same time the *jama'* included income from taxes other than land-revenue. This income, for reasons adduced elsewhere by me,¹ could not normally have been more than 10% of the total *jama'*.

However, the *jama'* figures offer a means of estimating the gross land-revenue collection. The other claims on land-revenue were those allowed to *zamīndārs* and local and village officials. The *zamīndār*'s share in Northern India was nominally set at 10%.² The local officials were allowed about 7% of the total collection, the break-up being as follows:³

<i>Muqaddam</i>	2.5%
<i>Chaudhri</i>	2.5%
<i>Qanungo</i>	1.0%
<i>Patwari</i>	1.0%

While it is difficult to find how much the *jāgīrdār* was expected to spend on revenue collection, we at least know that in the *khāliṣā* the amount allowed to the *karorī* (revenue-collector) for the cost of collection was 8% of the total revenue collection.⁴ It seems a fair assumption, therefore, that the *jāgīrdār* too spent about as much of the total towards cost of collection. Adding all these different shares together, we get a total charge of 25% upon revenue collection. It, therefore, follows that the *jama'* recorded in the *Ā'īn* was probably 3/4th of the gross collection. If one wishes to get the total gross collection, i.e. the actual burden on the peasantry, the *Ā'īn's jama'* figure (after being scaled down by 10% to allow for taxes other than land-revenue) should be raised by 33.3%.

For the *ārāzī* we have two views. Moreland has identified it with the cultivated area or rather the gross cropped area. He further assumed that such area had been fully measured in Akbar's time in the region of the four *śubas*, namely, Agra, Delhi, Awadh and Allahabad. Indeed, on this basis, he has assumed an enormous extension in cultivation in Eastern Uttar Pradesh since 1595, reaching as high as forty-fold in certain tracts.⁵ According to Irfan Habib, however, the *ārāzī* signifies only the total measured area, which he supposes to have represented the gross

1 Shireen Moosvi, 'Production, Consumption and Population in Akbar's Time,' *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, X, No. 2, 1973.

2 Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 147.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 133 & n., 135 & n., 291 & n., 294 & n.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 279.

5 W.H. Moreland, *JUPHS*, Lucknow, II Part I.

cropped area, fallows, cultivable waste and some portion of uncultivable waste.¹ He further argues that while the measurement was more or less complete in the *sūbas* of Agra and Delhi, a very large area remained yet to be surveyed in Awadh and Allahabad.²

These views can be tested by bringing in another known factor, the map-area. The map-area of the various *dastūr*-circles lying within Uttar Pradesh, at any rate, can be confidently determined, since most of the Ā'in's *parganas* have been identified firmly by Elliot and Beames and in the *District Gazetteers*. I have measured the area from the maps prepared by Professor Irfan Habib, which are the latest effort in mapping the territorial divisions of Akbar's Empire.³

The comparison of the total of *ārāzī* figures for all *parganas* within a *dastūr*-circle with its map-area worked out from these maps shows that in certain large *dastūr*-circles with well-defined boundaries, the *ārāzī* exceeds the map-area or is very close to it. This is understandable only if one assumes that the *ārāzī* included the gross-cropped area (i.e. the area harvested in *rabi* plus the area sown in *kharif*), its excess over map-area being made possible by the double count of the double-cropped area (area harvested in both *rabi* and *kharif*). Modern statistics are naturally available for modern territorial units which do not correspond to Mughal *dastūr*-circles. But one can gauge the approximate extent of the double-cropped area in recent times in the territories of the various *dastūr*-circles by applying the percentage of the double-cropped area out of the map-area of the districts in which the larger portion of each *dastūr*-circle lay. In the following table, the percentage stated in column C is based on the official *Agricultural Statistics* for the modern districts and assumed to be true for the *dastūr*-circles.

TABLE 3

A	B	C
<i>Dastūr-circle.</i>	<i>Excess of ārāzī over map-area (%)</i>	<i>Double-cropped area as % of map-area 1909-10</i>
Haveli Agra	2.08	6.41
Etawa	10.98	8.91
Meerut	11.12	18.94

1 Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India* pp. 3, 6.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 6, 12-13.

3 Irfan Habib, *Atlas of the Mughal Empire* (in press), Sheets 4A, 5A and 8A.

Without allowing for the inclusion of the double-cropped area, the excess of the *ārāzī* over the map-area would be inexplicable, even if one conceded to the Mughal surveyors an exceptionally large margin of error.

Moreland must, therefore, be right in his view that *ārāzī* covered the gross-cultivated area. But the very fact that the *ārāzī* exceeded the map-area, also suggests that he was in error in equating the *ārāzī* with the gross-cropped area only, since the latter, even in recent times is substantially smaller than the map-area in most localities. Thus, in the case of the three *dastūr*-circles in Table 3, the *ārāzī* as % of map-area exceeds the gross-cultivated area of the corresponding districts in 1909-10 as % of the map-area by a large margin.

<i>Dastūr-circle</i>	<i>Ārāzī as % of map-area</i>	<i>Gross-cropped area, 1909-10 as % of map-area</i>
Agra	102.08	74.60
Etawa	110.98	59.99
Meerut	111.12	96.39

To reach such a high extent in relation to the map-area, the *ārāzī* must, therefore, have not only covered the gross-cultivated area (i.e. net area cropped plus the double-cropped area), but also the cultivable waste (including current fallows) and some part at least of the uncultivable waste which together made up the difference between net cultivation and the total map-area.

This is corroborated by the detailed break-up given for *ārāzī* in certain statistics surviving from the 17th century. The specimen *taqṣīm* document found in an administrative manual, the *Dastūr-ul 'Amal-i-'Alamgīri*,¹ written about 1659, gives the following details of land surveyed in five villages.

		<i>% out of total</i>
Cultivable land	2,612 bighas	88.75
Cultivable waste	200 "	6.80
Uncultivable, waste habitation, etc.	131 "	4.45
Total	2,943 "	

1 Br. Mus. Add. 6598 ff. 36b.

The inclusion, as well as the low percentage of uncultivable waste (4.45 %) may be noted.

Nainsi's celebrated gazetteer of Marwar written during the reign of Jaswant Singh (1638-78)¹ gives the following figures for the area surveyed in *pargana* Merta, *sarkar* Nagaur (It may be noted that the *pargana* had been under Mughal imperial administration, and did not belong to the state of Marwar proper).

Cultivable land	23,96,425 bighas	91.61%
Unassessed land	3,19,531 "	8.39%
Total measured land	26,15,965 "	

It is quite obvious from these figures that the measured land covered some uncultivable waste, especially the area of village habitation sites, nullahs, etc. But it also suggests that the uncultivable area measured, was only part of the actual, because it is difficult to believe that the uncultivated waste in *pargana* Merta set on the fringe of the Thar Desert could only have been a little over 8% of the total area.

In similar statistics, abundantly available from Eastern Rajasthan,² the difficulty is that certain categories which covered cultivable waste and uncultivable lands are lumped together. As a result, the proportion of these two classes of land out of the total measured area cannot be satisfactorily worked out.

For 11 villages of *pargana* Antela Bhabhera of *Sarkar* Alwar for the year 1649, we have the following data:

		% out of total
B. Cultivable land	39,800 bigha	65.0
C. Unassessed land (<i>sir</i> , river, nullah, etc.)	21,380 "	34.9
Total measured area	61,180 "	

Since C includes *sir*, which was unassessed though cultivated, it is unfortunately not clear how much of the land in that category was

1 *Marwār ra Parganan ri Vigat*, ed. N. S. Bhati, Jodhpur, 1969, p. 77. Nainsi ascribes the survey to Samvat 1630 (A.D. 1572-73). This would, of course, suit my argument still more. But I have adopted the more conservative view that the figures themselves are based on a survey subsequent to that undertaken in Akbar's time. (I am thankful to B. Bhadani for drawing my attention to this evidence.)

2 I owe this information to my esteemed colleague, S.P. Gupta

actually uncultivable. The percentage of the uncultivable waste out of the total cannot thus be established from the above document though its presence within measured area is again confirmed.

In a *taqsim* document of *pargana* Amersar of *sarkar* Nagaur (1758) for 157 villages the following break-up is given:

	% out of total
Cultivable land	1,07,693 <i>bigha</i>
Unassessed land (<i>Vugauti, kharera, nullah</i>)	12,917 "
Total measured area	1,20,610 "

Unluckily, I am not certain about the significance of some of the terms used for categories in unassessed land. But even if all the categories belonged to uncultivable waste, its percentage out of the total measured area, would be only a little above 10%.

Quite naturally the proportion of uncultivable waste in the total measured area varies considerably in these documents. Since this area was unassessable, it would normally have been of little use to survey it, unless it stood within the limits of villages surveyed. On the basis of our documentary evidence, then, it would seem a safe assumption to set 10% as the maximum limit for uncultivable waste included within the *ārāzī* or surveyed area.

We may, therefore, take it that the *ārāzī* included the gross cultivation plus cultivable waste (including current fallows) and a part of uncultivable waste not rising above a tenth of the *ārāzī*. The next point to explore is whether measurement covered the entire cultivation of village lands in all the *parganas* for which *ārāzī* figures are recorded in the *A'in*. This can be done by comparing the *jama'i/ārāzī* (J/A) rates of different *dastūr*-circles computed by dividing the total *jama'* for all *parganas* within a *dastūr*-circle by the total of their respective *ārāzī* figures. These are shown in columns (a) and (b) of Table 4.

It can at once be seen that the variation in the incidence of *jama'* per *bigha* of *ārāzī* in the various circles is enormous, ranging from 11.12 to 64.71.

The differences among the *dastūr*-rates of these circles not only do not show such a range of variation, but, are sometimes higher in areas where the *jama'* incidence is low. This is illustrated in Table 4 by only three rates (wheat, rice and cotton); but these rates are fairly representative of the *dastūr*-rates for the various crops in general. There can, therefore, be little doubt that the variations in J/A were due to the varying extents to which the assessed land was measured. This explains the

TABLE 4

<i>Dastūr-circle</i>	(a)	(b)	<i>Wheat</i>	(c)	
	<i>J/A</i>	<i>J/A</i> <i>Agra=100</i>		<i>Rates, Agra=100</i> <i>Rice</i>	<i>Cotton</i>
Agra	28.09	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Etawa	11.25	40.05	89.98	74.02	102.75
Delhi	22.65	98.95	93.70	91.58	102.57
Meerut	11.12	39.59	86.70	79.66	102.57
Awadh	12.87	45.82	81.69	72.23	95.28
Bhadoi	50.22	178.78	96.66	70.38	105.14
Jaunpur	64.71	230.33	96.66	81.51	110.28
Chunar	54.68	194.66	96.66	81.51	110.28
Ghazipur	47.59	169.42	96.66	81.51	110.43
Rae Bareilly	53.35	189.93	93.32	77.80	107.71

high J/A in Eastern U.P. The exceptionally low J/A in some circles can, on the other hand, be attributed to a high proportion of waste included in the surveyed area.

Our conclusions, then, largely conform to the suggestions made by Irfan Habib, namely, that the *ārāzī* included land other than the land actually cultivated, and that measurement in 1595, while complete or nearly complete in some areas, was only partially carried out in others. For the latter view, he had adduced the evidence of the statistics of Aurangzeb's reign;¹ but as we have shown above, the *Ā'in*'s statistics themselves offer sufficient proof to settle the point.

1 Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 4, reproduces these statistics. The number of measured and unmeasured villages is separately indicated in these statistics. The figures for the *sūbas* of Agra, Delhi, Awadh and Allahabad are as follows:

<i>Sūba</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Measured</i>	<i>Unmeasured</i>
Agra	30,180	27,303	2,877
Delhi	45,088	43,512	1,576
Awadh	52,691	33,842	18,849
Allahabad	47,607	45,345	2,262

III

Starting from our findings in respect of the nature of *jama'* and *ārāzī* figures recorded in the *Ā'īn*, we can now make an attempt to calculate the estimated gross revenue collection (*J'*), and the area of measured land under gross cultivation in 1595 (*A'*).

To determine *J'* the recorded *jama'* figures should be reduced first by 10% to exclude the taxes other than land-revenue. Then the figures should be scaled up by 33% to incorporate the charges upon land-revenue paid out of it before it reached the assignee (whether the *khalisa* treasury or the *jāgīrdār*).

To arrive at *A'*, the *ārāzī* figures ought first to be scaled down, to allow the margin for the uncultivable land as well as cultivable waste. As discussed earlier, 10% of the total *ārāzī* can safely be taken as the maximum limit for uncultivable waste. As far as cultivable waste is concerned, a uniform proportion for all the *dastūr*-circles cannot however be assumed. I have, therefore, used the modern *Agricultural Statistics* and applied the information contained there to estimate the portion of the *ārāzī* that was covered by cultivated waste. I have estimated the cultivable waste (and current fallows) for each *dastūr*-circle, by first calculating the ratio of cultivable waste to the total gross-cropped area (in 1909-10) of the various districts in which the *dastūr*-circle lay, and then applying this ratio to the *ārāzī* of the *dastūr*-circle to obtain an estimate of cultivable waste. Thus to obtain the actual proportion of gross cultivation in the *ārāzī*, we have first reduced the *ārāzī* by 10% and then further reduced it by the percentage of cultivable waste (fallow) out of the aggregate area of gross cultivation, cultivable waste and current fallows of the corresponding districts. The figures of *ārāzī*, so reduced, should represent the minimum gross cultivation in 1595.

The maximum limit of gross cultivation in 1595 may be set by the actual extent of cultivation at the beginning of this century. This is based on the simple assumption that cultivation has extended, on the balance, in every locality though in varying degrees. I have, therefore, worked out the gross cultivation for each *dastūr*-circle on the basis of the *Agricultural Statistics* for (1909-10). First of all, the entire gross cultivation of the district in which each *dastūr*-circle lay, has been obtained. Then the ratio of this cultivation to the total area of the district has been calculated. This ratio then has been applied to the map-area of *dastūr*-circle, in order to yield the estimated gross cultivation for that circle, which would be true for 1909-10.

With these figures in hand, we can set about working out the incidence of gross revenue collection upon per unit of assessed land.

Since measurement might not have covered the entire assessed land, J'/A' (gross revenue collection divided by gross cultivation, 1595) should

give us the maximum limit for the revenue incidence. On the other hand dividing J' by the present (1909-10) gross cultivation of each *dastūr-circle* (C), we will have the minimum limit, since it can be assumed that gross cultivation in 1909-10 must have been in considerable excess generally of the actual gross cultivation in 1595.

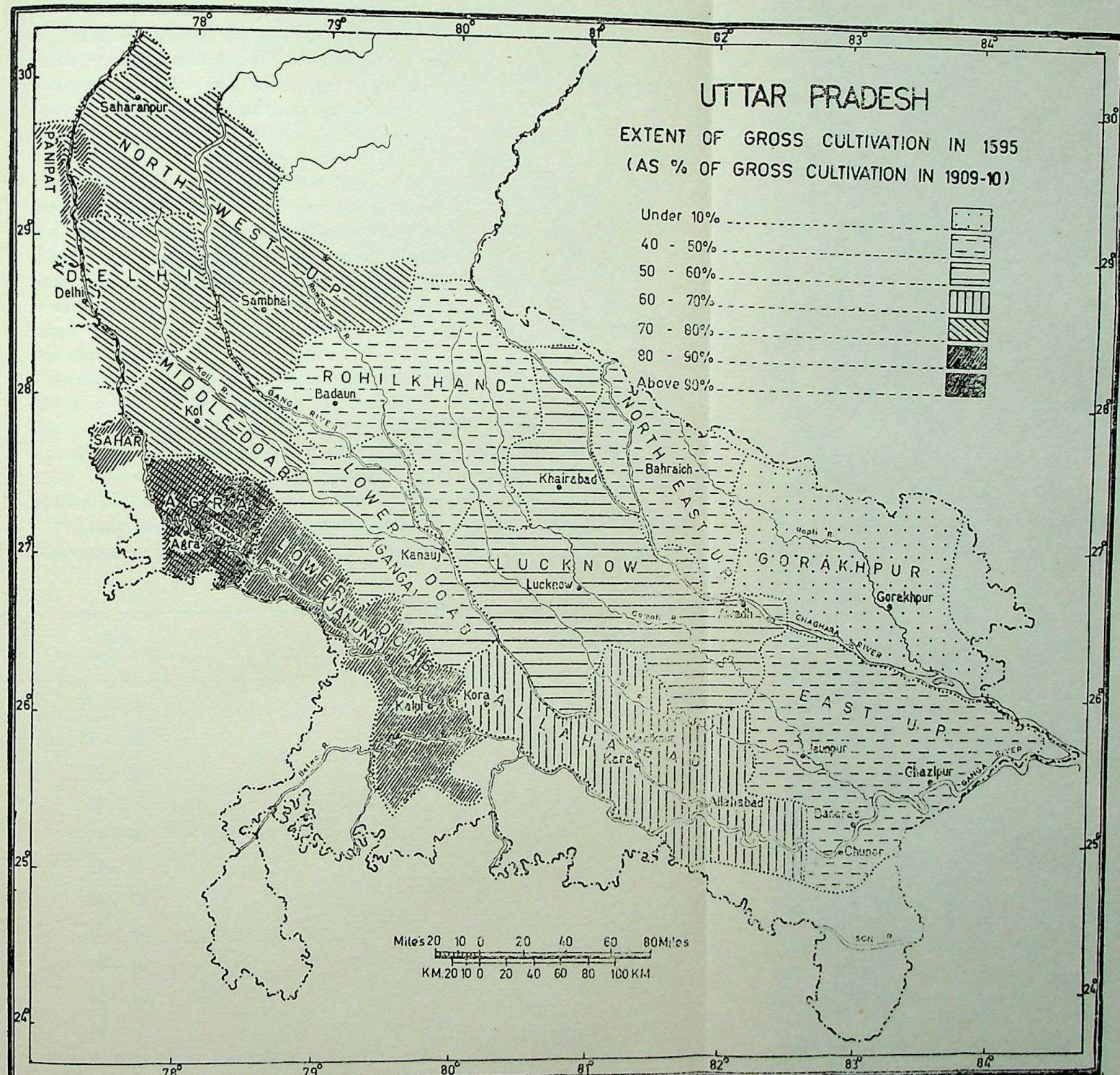
Appendix A presents the recorded *ārāzī* and *jama'* (*naqdī*) figures in the *Ā'īn* for each *dastūr-circles* together with the map-area, worked out from the limits as shown in Irfan Habib's sheet 8A. Appendix B then gives J' , A' and C and the ratios J'/A' and J'/C for each *dastūr-circle*.

Certain *dastūr-circles* are too small for us to be reasonably sure of the accuracy of their map-area. The margin of error is correspondingly less in determining the map-area when the territory considered is larger. Most of the inaccuracies resulting from a possibly inaccurate delineation of limits of individual *dastūr-circles* are mutually cancelled out, if we combine small adjoining *dastūr-circles*. I have accordingly grouped the *dastūr-circles* lying in Uttar Pradesh into the following blocks. The figures of J'/A' and J'/C are taken from Appendix B.

TABLE 5

<i>Blocks</i>	J'/A'	J'/C
1. North West U.P.	30.0	21.1
2. Delhi	28.6	20.2
3. Rohilkhand	36.3	9.9
4. Middle Doab	30.1	22.5
5. Agra	45.0	44.3
6. Lower Doab (Jamuna)	38.2	29.9
7. Lower Doab (Ganga)	30.4	15.8
8. Lucknow	29.7	17.3
9. North East U.P.	20.9	10.5
10. Gorakhpur	77.5	1.6
11. East U.P.	93.8	12.5
12. Allahabad	74.4	19.8

Those regions where J'/C is very close to J'/A' , i.e. the difference between the upper and lower limits is very small, present us with a correspondingly narrow margin within which the average land-revenue per unit of assessed area may be placed. In the block formed by the *dastūr-circle* of Agra, the difference between the two limits is even less than one *dām*



SOURCE:— Dastur-circle boundaries based on Irfan Habib,
Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Sheet 8A

per *bigha*. Moreover, the J'/C is the highest here. This seems quite logical for Agra being the capital and the biggest city of the Empire, the surrounding districts should have experienced high prices and maintained a larger cultivation of market crops, which generally yielded higher revenue. But this very fact also suggests that no other *dastūr*-circle could have had such a high incidence of revenue upon assessed land as Agra. In turn, we are led to a further inference: In the blocks where J'/A' is higher than in Agra, i.e. where it exceeds 45 *dāms* per *bigha* the high rate must be due to incompleteness of measurement, A' there representing only a fraction of the actual gross cultivation (G.C.) of 1595. On the other hand, where J'/A' is less than 45 *dāms/bigha* it is likely that A' approximates to the actual G.C. of 1595. In fact, in such cases J'/A' is found mostly in the proximity of 30 *dāms* per *bigha*. This is true of seven out of eight such blocks. In one block alone it is substantially less than 30 *dāms*.

In the case of J'/C the pattern is not so uniform and the variation from block to block is very high. In Gorakhpur, it is hardly 2 *dāms* while in the lower Doab Jamuna it reaches as high a rate as 30 *dāms*. The J'/C figures suggest a closer proximity to the actual land-revenue burden of 1595, whereas the low figures suggest that a big increase in the extent of cultivation has taken place since 1595 in the localities involved.

We may then say that J'/A' approximates to 30 *dāms/bigha*, wherever measurement is likely to have been complete; and that J'/C (which

TABLE 6

J'/A' (Lower limit exclusive)	Number of <i>Dastūr</i> -circles
110—100	1
100— 90	5
90— 80	3
80— 70	4
70— 60	2
60— 50	3
50— 40	2
40— 30	10
30— 20	6
20— 10	4
10— 0	1

gives us the floor for land-revenue incidence) reaches this figure where the extention of cultivation since 1595 has not been substantial. The only exception is Agra, where both approximate to 45 *dāms*. One would, therefore, infer that setting aside Agra as an exceptional case, the revenue burden per *bigha* of assessed land was on the average 30 *dāms* in most regions of U.P.

We can further check this by computing the frequency of different ranges of J'/A' and J'/C for the various *dastūr*-circles individually (and not by blocks).

Arranging the *dastūr*-circles according to their J'/A' into classes with class length 10, we get Table 6 given on page 105.

If mode is any index of the average incidence, then it would seem that the average revenue burden was between 40-30, since the maximum number of *dastūr*-circles (viz. 10) belong to this class. While the class just above the modal class has only 2 *dastūr*-circles, the lower one, viz. 30-20, has the second highest frequency, viz. 6. This suggests that the incidence was closer to 30 than to 40 *dāms*. We must remember, however, that since measurement could not be entirely complete in 1595 anywhere, the frequency table still indicates only the upper limit of incidence.

If similarly we arrange the *dastūr*-circles, on the basis of their J'/C in a frequency table with class length 5, we obtain the following:

TABLE 7

J'/C Class (Lower limit exclusive)	Number of <i>Dastūr</i> -circles
45-40	1
40-35	0
35-30	3
30-25	4
25-20	13
20-15	7
15-10	6
10- 5	2
5- 0	3

This table makes it obvious that the highest frequency of the lower limit of revenue incidence was between 25 and 20 *dāms*; but it was closer to 20, since the second highest frequency is that of class 20-15.

The frequency checks thus also lead us to the conclusion that with the ceiling over 30 and the floor over 20, the incidence of land-revenue collected from the peasantry was about 30 *dams* per *bigha* of cultivated land.

It needs emphasis, however, that the above conclusion refers to average revenue burden and does not exclude the possibility that it could have varied substantially in individual localities. We have already seen that the *dastūr*-circles of Agra had a higher revenue incidence of around 45 *dams/bigha*. In the frequency table based on J'/A' , we find four *dastūr*-circles with J'/A' lower than 20 *dams/bigha*. Since J'/A' gives us the ceiling for the revenue incidence, it is not possible for the actual incidence in these *dastūr*-circles to have exceeded J'/A' .

Merrut for example, has a J'/A' of 18.9 and J'/C of 17.1; and we are bound to infer that the actual incidence of revenue in this circle should have been 18 *dams/bigha*. That such variations must have existed is precisely what one should expect; but it is, of course, not possible to offer reasons for them in each individual case, with the material we have at hand.

IV

The evidence presented above should help us to make an estimate of the area under cultivation in 1595.

We have suggested that where the J'/A' was less than 45 *dams* per *bigha*, one should assume that measurement was more or less complete in that *dastūr*-circle, and A' should, therefore, have been approximately the same as the G.C. of 1595. On the other hand, where J'/A' exceeds 45 *dams* per *bigha*, one must assume that measurement was incomplete, and A' represented only a fraction of the G.C. of 1595.

From this it would follow that in the first case (J'/A' being below 45), A' can be taken to be approximately equal to G.C. and thus be directly compared with the G.C. of 1909-10, as calculated by me for the limits of each *dastūr*-circle. The resultant ratio would indicate the extension of cultivation in those localities between 1595 and 1909-10. In the second case (J'/A' exceeding 45), we must abandon A' altogether, and estimate G.C. for 1595 by simply dividing J' by 30—the rate in terms of *dams* per *bigha* which we have inferred to be the average rate of revenue incidence. The resultant figures, taken to be G.C. of 1595 in *bighas*, may then be compared with the G.C. of 1909-10.

In Appendix C, I have given the estimates of G.C. for 1595 worked out for each *dastūr*-circle according to the above method, and the percentage it represented of the G.C. of 1909-10. On the basis of these estimates we get the results (as given in Table 8) for the blocks into which I had arranged the *dastūr*-circles in Section III.

TABLE 8

<i>Blocks</i>	(a) G.C. 1595	(b) G.C. 1909-10	(a) as % of (b)
North West U.P.	52,03,219	72,33,531	71.932
Delhi	32,68,876	46,28,332	70.630
Rohilkhand	40,08,845	86,60,182	46.291
Middle Doab	20,79,031	27,26,317	76.260
Agra	21,25,267	21,62,269	98.289
Lower Doab (Jamuna)	26,04,842	30,21,674	86.205
Lower Doab (Ganga)	20,88,228	35,13,665	59.430
Lucknow	54,05,357	93,02,452	58.610
North East U.P.	12,67,719	28,90,255	43.862
Gorakhpur	5,82,276	1,01,28,712	5.749
East U.P.	33,38,402	79,88,891	41.788
Allahabad	32,42,215	48,98,847	66.183
Grand Total:	3,52,14,277	6,71,55,126	52.437

The table suggests that the cultivation in 1595 was almost as high as in 1909-10 around Agra and below it along the Jamuna, about three-fourths of it in the Upper and Middle parts of the Doab; two-thirds of it in Lower Doab and some adjoining tracts; and about half or a little over it in central U.P. It was less than half of the cultivation in 1909-10 in Eastern U.P.; but in Gorakhpur, it seems to have amounted to a very low fraction. In Gorakhpur, indeed, it is so low that one may here fairly doubt¹ the accuracy of the *Ā'īn's jama'* figures.

1 This doubt is reinforced by the later revenue-statistics. Considered as % of the total *jama'* of Awadh, the *jama'* of sarkār Gorakhpur was 5.07. But it amounts to 11.85% of the total *jama'* of the *sūba* in the *Dastūr ul 'Amal-i 'Alamgīrī*, f. 114a-b, and 16.06% in the *Chahār Gulshan* (transcript in the Department of History, pp. 281-83). It is possible that part of the relative increase in the *jama'* was due to an increase in cultivation in the intervening period; but it is more likely that the *jama'* was substantially understated in the *Ā'īn*. If the latter was the case, we should perhaps, assume that the actual extent of cultivation in Gorakhpur was the twice or thrice the extent deduced from Table 8. In other words, the G.C. in 1595 was probably about 5% of what it was in 1909-10.

When put on the map (as done on the accompanying map)¹ these estimates do not appear improbable. The areas where the cultivation is low are precisely the areas in which forests were reported in Mughal times or are shown by Rennell in 1780, or where cultivation is known to have progressed substantially during the intervening period.²

The total of G.C. of 1595 for all the blocks may probably give a false sense of precision. But it suggests strongly that the gross cultivation in 1595 over the entire region of Uttar Pradesh was probably half of what it was in 1909-10. This estimate for G.C. in 1595 is rather higher than that of Moreland,³ but rather lower than that of Irfan Habib.⁴

V

Having presented the data of the incidence of the land-revenue upon assessed land, from the statistics of the *A'in*, we may now go on to estimate the incidence of revenue on the basis of the *dastur*-rates given in the same work.

Since the *dasturs* represented different rates for different crops, they cannot be converted into an average rate per *bigha* of cultivation without some system of weighting. Since we do not know how much area was under which crop in 1595, we can only draw upon information, derived from modern statistics. Although the crop distribution must have altered considerably in the intervening period, the use of modern information for the purpose of giving weights to the *dastur* of individual crops might not probably lead to a result very different from what we would have got, had we possessed the necessary information for 1595.

Table 9 presents the average (weighted) *dasturs* per *bigha* of cultivation for certain *dastur*-circles together with J'A' and J'C for the same circle. The weights have been assigned on the basis of information relating to area under various crops in 1900-01, given in Nevill's *U.P. District Gazetteers*. The last column of the table shows the minimum and maximum among the *dasturs* for individual crops, that have been used in working out the weighted average rates.

1. Besides the figures given in Table 8, I have also worked out the corresponding figures for the *dastur*-circle of Panipat, since a portion of that circle jutted into the Upper Doab within the limits of the present Uttar Pradesh. The figures are (a) 8,84,49; (b) 10,21,403. (a) as % of (b), 86.58. The area within the Panipat circle has been accordingly shaded in my map.

2. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, pp. 11-16. Rennell, *Bengal Atlas*, Sheet no. X.

3. W.H. Moreland, *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, II (1919), part I, pp. 1-39 and *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 20-22.

4. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 14-16.

TABLE 9

Dastūr-circle	(a) J'/A'	(b) J'/C	(c) Average Revenue- rate	(d) No. of Crops	(e) Minimum/Maximum RANGE	
(a) Western Uttar Pradesh						
1. Delhi & c.						
39.2	23.7	49.6	13	26.5	161.0	
2. Meerut & c.	18.9	17.1	44.4	9	32.2	123.0
3. Baran & c.	22.1	15.1	51.5	14	22.44	134.16
4. Kol & c.	32.3	26.9	49.7	11	26.50	134.0
5. Agra & c.	45.0	44.3	52.0	9	31.2	147.4
(b) Eastern Uttar Pradesh						
1. Awadh & c.						
17.6	14.2	45.1	21	24.60	127.60	
2. Bahraich & c.	24.0	10.7	43.2	10	25.80	123.0
3. Ghazipur & c.	93.8	23.4	55.0	10	41.36	163.0

The crops whose *dastūrs* have been used to calculate the average weighted rates for the *dastūr-circles* in the above table, occupied no less than 80% of the sown area in 1900-01.

'Miscellaneous crops' covered nearly 15% of the sown area in 1900-01. Since these are left unspecified in the modern statistics, they cannot be taken into account for working out the average *dastūr-rate*. I have accordingly excluded the area occupied by them from my calculations. Even if they had been included, the influence on the result could only have been marginal.

The table thus gives us, for the average *dastūr-rates*, a range of 44.4 to 52.0 *dāms* per *bigha* in Western Uttar Pradesh and 43.2 to 55.0 *dāms* per *bigha* in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. We may safely consider 45 *dāms* per *bigha* to be a fair approximation to the average *dastūr-rate* for the entire region of the Uttar Pradesh.

Compared to the range of inter-regional variations of the average *dastūr-rates*, the range of such variations in the 'ceiling' (J'/A') and 'floor' (J'/C) of the revenue incidence per *bigha*, estimated from the *A'in's ārāzī* and *jama'* statistics, is much larger. Moreover, there is hardly any correlation between the *dastūr-rates* and the revenue incidence. In the *dastūr-circle* of Ghazipur, J'/A' is as high as 93.8 *dāms* per *bigha*, while the average *dastūr-rate* is only 55.0. This apparently high revenue incidence is, however, due to the fact that J'/A' is artificially inflated, A'

there being only a fraction of G.C. Agra, with an average *dastūr*-rate of 52.0, has the ceiling for revenue incidence (J'/A') at 45.0, and the floor (J'/C') at 44.3. Here the revenue incidence is almost equal to the average *dastūr*-rate. Meerut, Baran and Awadh, on the other hand, have average *dastūr*-rates of 44.4, 51.5 and 45.1, but J'/A' of only 18.9, 22.1 and 17.6, and J'/C of 17.1, 15.1 and 14.2. In Bahraich too J'/A' is just a little above half the *dastūr*-rate.

In these circles, then, the actual revenue realised must have been less than half of what should have been taken under the *dastūr*-rates. In the other circles, e.g. Delhi and Kol, the position is a little better, but the maximum for revenue incidence (J'/A') even here is substantially below the *dastūr*-rate, and the minimum (J'/C) is around half.

We have given the above table as an illustration; but the gap is to be found in respect of every circle though, naturally to varying degrees. If we are right in holding that the average *dastūr*-rate was about 45 *dāms* per *bigha*, while as we have suggested earlier the revenue-incidence was, on the average, about 30 *dāms* in U.P., it follows that the actual revenue incidence was only 66.7% of the incidence implied by the *dastūr*-rates.

One should remember that we have calculated the revenue incidence by increasing the *jama'* (or rather, 90% of it, to allow for taxes other than land-revenue) by 33.3% so as to accomodate other claims on land-revenue, such as those of *zamīndār*, local officials and headman, and cost of collection. If the original *jama'* represented the estimated net income of the Emperor and the *jāgīrdārs*, we may reduce the revenue incidence by 25% to obtain their net income in terms of each *bigha* of assessed land. The *dastūr*-rates, on the other hand, represented a half of the produce, as we have seen in section I. Thus, if the net income per *bigha* was 75% of the gross land-revenue, and the latter was 66.6% of the average *dastūr*-rate, the net income of the ruling class must have been equal to a quarter of value of the total agricultural produce.

Though the quarter of the agricultural produce is still an enormous portion of GNP in a predominantly agricultural economy, one may still argue that the above study suggests significant modification of the thesis that "after allowing for all the 'leakages' to net revenue collection taken completely outside the sphere of rural economy probably amounted, in value, to a fourth, or a third, if not a half, of the total agricultural produce."¹

¹ Irfan Habib, 'Potentialities of Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India,' *Enquiry*, No. 15 (Winter, 1971), p. 27.

VI

It is not possible for me to explain how the gulf between the claimed and actual revenue realization, as indicated by the difference between the average *dastūr*-rate and the average revenue-incidence, came to be so large. There are, however, certain possibilities that may be explored with a view to discovering how such a wide difference came to be created.

(1) The failure of the peasant to pay the land-revenue assessed on him. The extent to which allowance was made for this by Akbar's administration in estimating the *jama'* for assessment purposes cannot for the present be determined.

In the 17th century specimen reproductions of village accounts, the land-revenue paid by the village amounts to such a high percentage of the total collections from the cultivators, that doubt does arise whether the peasants were able to retain any substantial balance. The following figures are abstracted from three such accounts.

	<i>A</i> <i>Total village income</i>	<i>B</i> <i>Payment of land- revenue</i>	<i>C</i> <i>B as % of A</i>
1. <i>Dastūr-ūl 'Amal-i 'Alamgiri</i>	4,655	4,427	96.07
2. <i>Siyāqnāma</i>	218	189*	86.70
3. <i>Khulaṣatu-s siyāq</i>	1,282	1,011	78.86

* Includes Rs. 80/- paid to the local moneylender presumably to pay off a loan taken earlier to pay the land-revenue.

The specimen accounts further show that even the balances left after paying the land-revenue, small as they were, had to be shared with a number of local petty officials, functionaries and *zamīndārs*.

(2) Another possibility is that the share of the *zamīndārs* might have been much larger in Northern India than the nominal 10% that we have allowed. The sale-prices of *zamīndari*s suggest a means by which the actual income of the *zamīndārs* may be estimated. The *zamīndāri* prices in a locality of *sarkār* Bahraich, *sūba* Awadh, during Aurangzeb's reign, work out at about 228% of the average annual land-revenue on the lands.¹ Since the price should represent the 'capitalized' value of the return on *zamīndār*, we are in a position, at least, to speculate upon

¹ Irfan Habib, 'Potentialities of Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India', *Enquiry* No. 15 (Winter 1971), pp. 152-3.

what the annual return on the *zamindārī* was in relation to land-revenue. If the purchaser of the *zamindārī* expected to recover his total investment in ten years, his income (given the ratios between price and land-revenue as stated above) should have come to a little less than 25% of the land-revenue. It would, of course, have been more if the purchaser expected to recover his capital in even fewer than ten years; but such a situation seems rather unlikely. We can, then, perhaps say that the *zamindārs* probably appropriated not a tenth but something around a fifth to a fourth of the 'rent.' This would reduce the gap between the *dastūr*-rate and the actual revenue incidence, by about a fifth.

(3) The revenue grants (*madad-i ma'āsh, suyūrghāl*) might also have accounted for part of the difference between the gross assessment and net income. It is not very clear whether the figures for the estimated income for the revenue grants (*suyūrghāl*) set out in the *Ā'in's* 'Account of 12 *Sūbas*', formed part of the *jama'* or were excluded from it. Abu'l Fazl's words imply that these were included in the *Naqdī* or *jama'*, since in the passage giving *śuba* totals, he first gives the *jama'* figures, and then with the words, "from out of these" (*az ān miyān*), he furnishes those for *suyūrghāl*. This in fact is supported by the statistics, where in the case of many *parganas*, the amount of *suyūrghāl* when deducted from the *jama'*, results in a round figure, suggesting that the *suyūrghāl* figures have been added to net estimate in round figures, so as to arrive at the gross *jama'* figure.

For example, we have the following figures for two *parganas* in Bari Doab, *Śuba* Lahore:

	<i>Jama'</i>	<i>Less Suyūrghāl</i>	<i>Net Jama'</i>
Miyan Nureya	21,06,156	5,156	21,01,000
Khokharwal	34,75,510	3,510	34,72,000

Now, if the *jama'* included the amount of estimated revenue lost through *suyūrghāl*, the *suyūrghāl* would have no role to play in our search for factors explaining the gulf between *dastūrs* and revenue incidence, since the *suyūrghāl* would be a part of the *jama'*. Even if the *Suyūrghāl* was excluded from the *jama'*, the *Ā'in's* statistics make it most unlikely that the amount so alienated formed a large portion of the *jama'*. It was only 3.9% of the *jama'* in *śuba* Agra, 5.4% in Delhi; 4.2% in Awadh and 3.9% in Allahabad. If these figures represented the real magnitude of revenues alienated through *suyūrghāl*, the revenue grants could in any case have accounted for no more than 10% of the gap we find between the *dastūr*-rates and the revenue incidence.

(4) One is tempted to suggest that the cost of collection of land-revenue might have been exceptionally large, necessitating a very substantial allowance for it in estimating the *jama'*. That is to say, in other words, that the 8% allowed to *karorīs* of the *Khālisa* as cost of collection represented a heavy under-statement.

Unluckily, accounts of the expenses of revenue collection are difficult to come by. But we know that a *jāgīrdār*, when assigned his *jāgīr*, had to employ a large staff, comprising revenue assessors and collectors, surveyors, accountants, etc. In addition, he had to maintain a fairly large number of locally hired troopers, the *sihbandīs* to help in local collections, by standing guard over crops, forcing the recalcitrant peasants and *zamīndārs* to pay, and so on. These did not form part of their standard military contingent, maintained against their *sawār* ranks.

Could we then assume that the *jāgīrdār* had to spend something like 25% of the gross revenue assessment? Only such a large proportion could really bridge the gulf that we have been speaking of.

These are, of course, only tentative, even speculative suggestions. But it may be hoped that as more and more documents and statistics from the Mughal period are studied and analysed, the questions that I have raised would one day be more definitely answered.

APPENDIX - A

Ārāzī and *Naqdī* (*jama'*) statistics in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*

(These figures are based on a collation of Br. Mus., MSS., Add 7652 and OR. 6552 with the printed text of Blochmann).

The map-area has been worked out from the limits of the *dastūr*-circles shown in Irsan Habib's *Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 8 A.

Dastūr-circle	Sarkār	Sūba	Map-area	A Ārāzī	J Jama'
<i>North West U.P.:</i>					
Deoband	Saharanpur	Delhi	27,02,841	26,55,996	6,09,61,106
Chandpur	Sambhal	"	15,53,310	6,79,436	2,52,34,782
Sambhal	"	"	31,06,620	26,30,505	3,24,20,930
Lakhnaur	"	"	13,01,978	6,76,263	60,84,308
Kairana	Saharanpur	"	4,64,807	1,82,471	53,40,363
TOTAL			91,29,556	68,24,671	13,00,41,489
<i>Delhi:</i>					
Delhi	Delhi	Delhi	26,57,519	19,00,924	4,83,77,958
Meerut	"	"	13,59,661	15,15,620	1,68,50,716
Baran	"	"	9,39,402	7,69,035	1,09,00,508
TOTAL			49,56,582	41,85,579	7,61,29,182
<i>Rohilkhand:</i>					
Badaun	Badaun	Delhi	61,26,716	18,93,755	3,48,16,363
Bharwara	Khairabad	Awadh	7,16,912	9,952	4,83,452
Pali	"	"	19,73,569	7,30,300	2,19,05,241
TOTAL			88,17,197	26,34,007	5,72,05,056
<i>Middle Doab:</i>					
Thana Fareda	Kol	Agra	14,66,786	7,23,526	1,89,79,549
Akbarabad	"	"	5,10,903	4,38,958	84,57,868
Kol	Kol	"	9,18,801	8,31,181	1,81,54,896
Matahabra	"	"	3,13,134	4,67,766	83,00,646
Sikandapur	Kasganj	"	90,644	3,60,847	2,69,622
Atreji					
TOTAL			33,00,268	28,22,278	5,41,62,581
<i>Agra:</i>					
Agra	Agra	Agra	27,81,125	28,39,027	7,97,48,315
<i>Lower Doab (Jamuna):</i>					
Etawa	Agra	Agra	17,38,718	19,29,625	2,17,02,144
Phaphund	Kanauj	"	4,49,100	1,11,546	54,32,391
Kalpi	Kalpi	"	31,18,980	17,32,104	4,94,65,947
TOTAL			53,06,798	37,73,275	7,66,00,482

Continued from page 115

Lower Doab (Ganga):

Sakit	Kanauj	Agra	7,99,318	4,70,542	85,07,138
Bhogaon	"	"	23,89,707	15,87,933	2,23,09,604
Kanauj	"	"	18,66,444	5,21,305	1,54,98,832
TOTAL			50,55,469	25,79,780	4,63,15,574

Lucknow:

Khairabad	Khairabad	Awadh	28,38,808	12,41,442	2,12,61,068
Unam	Unam	"	12,07,214	7,79,210	1,72,65,640
Lucknow	Lucknow	"	48,94,780	25,25,695	6,34,81,580
Ibrahimabad	Awadh	"	90,644	19,338	4,45,418
Awadh	"	"	31,27,221	27,50,934	2,99,20,544
Kishni	"	"	32,961	25,678	13,39,286
TOTAL			1,21,91,628	73,42,297	13,37,13,535

North East U.P.:

Bahraich	Bahraich	Awadh	34,73,316	16,28,198	2,07,06,394
Firuzabad	"	"	4,36,739	1,66,747	20,99,080
TOTAL:			39,10,055	17,94,945	2,28,05,474

Gorakhpur:

Gorakhpur	Gorakhpur	"	90,97,370	2,44,283	1,19,26,790
Khuransa	Bahraich	"	5,85,066	28,489	13,15,051
TOTAL			96,82,436	2,72,772	1,32,41,841

East U.P.:

Jaunpur	Jaunpur	Allahabad	65,34,614	8,50,889	5,50,58,849
Benaras	"		6,71,590	2,07,800	88,60,618
Chunar	Chunar	"	17,09,877	1,06,269	58,10,954
Ghazipur	Ghazipur	"	16,19,233	2,88,472	1,37,29,622
TOTAL			1,05,35,314	14,53,430	8,34,60,043

Allahabad:

Jajmau	Kora	Allahabad	5,89,186	1,02,356	50,30,271
Karrah	Karrah	"	17,51,079	5,13,481	2,09,14,068
Kurtia	Kora	"	3,17,254	40,184	19,27,841
Kora	Kora	"	5,06,782	1,98,624	1,04,38,455
Rai Bareilly	Manipur	"	8,03,436	1,70,305	90,85,039
Manikpur	Manipur	"	20,06,529	4,86,613	2,43,31,488
Ghiswa	Jaunpur	"	41,202	19,818	10,43,672
Bhadoi	Allahabad	"	13,88,503	2,89,556	1,45,39,925
Allahabad	"	"	8,61,118	—	71,54,454
TOTAL			82,65,089	18,20,937	9,44,65,213

APPENDIX - B

Dastur-circle	J'	% of A (in Appendix A) assumed to be under cultivation (gross) 1596 (=A)	A'	% of Map-area (see Appendix A) to be under cultivation 1900-10 (=C)	C	J'/A'	J'/C
<i>North West U.P. :</i>							
Deoband	7,31,54,527	76,594	20,34,333	82,486	22,29,465	35,9	32,8
Chandpur	3,02,81,738	66,918	4,54,665	69,944	10,87,223	66,6	27,9
Sambhal	3,89,05,116	75,064	19,74,562	83,810	26,03,658	19,7	14,9
Lakhnaur	73,01,169	77,866	5,26,579	79,970	11,72,209	13,9	6,2
Kairana	63,92,414	74,971	1,36,800	85,540	1,40,976	46,7	45,3
TOTAL	15,60,34,964		51,26,939		72,33,531	30,4	21,57
<i>Delhi :</i>							
Delhi	5,80,53,550	77,873	14,80,307	92,194	24,50,073	39,2	23,7
Meerut	2,24,67,621	78,922	11,96,158	96,391	13,10,590	18,8	17,1
Baran	1,30,80,609	77,033	5,92,411	92,364	8,67,669	22,1	15,1
TOTAL	9,36,01,780		32,68,876		46,28,332	28,6	20,2
<i>Rajasthan :</i>							
Badaun	4,17,79,636	71,924	13,62,064	81,706	50,05,895	30,7	8,3
Bharwara	5,80,142	60,026	5,973	65,656	4,06,174	97,1	1,4
Pali	2,62,86,289	71,411	5,21,514	75,600	14,92,018	50,40	17,6
TOTAL	6,86,46,067		18,89,551		59,04,087	27,369	9,9

*Continued from page 117**Middle Doab :*

Thana Farida	2,27,75,459
Akbarabad	1,01,49,441
Kol	2,17,83,875
Marchara	99,60,775
Sikandarpur Aterji	3,23,546
TOTAL	6,49,95,096

Agra :

Agra	9,56,97,978
	74,859

Lower Doab (Jumuna) :

Etawa	2,60,42,573
Phaphund	65,18,896
Kalpi	5,93,59,136
TOTAL	9,19,20,605

Lower Doab (Ganga) :

Sakit	1,02,08,565
Bhogaon	2,67,71,525
Kanauj	1,85,98,598
TOTAL	5,55,78,688

Lucknow :

Khairabad	2,55,13,280
Unam	2,07,18,768
Lucknow	7,61,77,896
Ibrahimabad	5,34,500
Awadh	3,59,04,653
Kishni	16,07,143
TOTAL	16,04,56,240

Continued from page 117

Thana Farida	79,034
Akbarabad	81,036
Kol	81,036
Marchara	67,142
Sikandarpur Aterji	67,142
TOTAL	6,49,95,096
<i>Agra</i>	
	74,859
<i>Lower Doab (Jumuna) :</i>	
Etawa	68,156
Phaphund	61,990
Kalpi	58,901
TOTAL	9,19,20,605
<i>Lower Doab (Ganga) :</i>	
Sakit	70,732
Bhogaon	71,505
Kanauj	68,955
TOTAL	5,55,78,688
<i>Lower Doab (Ganga) :</i>	
Khairabad	67,222
Unam	69,545
Lucknow	67,678
Ibrahimabad	72,607
Awadh	74,174
Kishni	78,213
TOTAL	54,01,393
<i>Agra :</i>	
	21,57,448
<i>Lower Doab (Jumuna) :</i>	
Etawa	13,15,155
Phaphund	69,147
Kalpi	10,20,227
TOTAL	24,04,529
<i>Lower Doab (Ganga) :</i>	
Sakit	3,32,824
Bhogaon	11,35,451
Kanauj	3,59,466
TOTAL	18,27,741
<i>Lower Doab (Ganga) :</i>	
Khairabad	8,34,522
Unam	5,41,901
Lucknow	19,50,369
Ibrahimabad	14,040
Awadh	20,40,478
Kishni	20,083
TOTAL	54,01,393
<i>Middle Doab :</i>	
Thana Farida	5,71,831
Akbarabad	3,55,714
Kol	6,73,556
Marchara	3,14,067
Sikandarpur Aterji	2,42,280
TOTAL	77,471
<i>Lower Doab (Jumuna) :</i>	
Etawa	90,007
Phaphund	87,953
Kalpi	87,953
TOTAL	77,471
<i>Lower Doab (Ganga) :</i>	
Sakit	13,20,210
Bhogaon	4,49,354
Kanauj	8,08,113
TOTAL	70,223
<i>Lower Doab (Ganga) :</i>	
Khairabad	19,802
Unam	2,69,460
Lucknow	17,16,375
Ibrahimabad	58,182
Awadh	30,73,838
Kishni	38,228
TOTAL	30,408
<i>Middle Doab :</i>	
Thana Farida	39,8
Akbarabad	28,5
Kol	32,3
Marchara	31,7
Sikandarpur Aterji	1,3
TOTAL	46
<i>Lower Doab (Jumuna) :</i>	
Etawa	17.3
Phaphund	22.6
Kalpi	26.9
TOTAL	41.1
<i>Lower Doab (Ganga) :</i>	
Sakit	23.9
Bhogaon	94.275
Kanauj	58.182
TOTAL	34.6
<i>Middle Doab :</i>	
Thana Farida	17.3
Akbarabad	22.6
Kol	26.9
Marchara	41.1
Sikandarpur Aterji	4.6
TOTAL	22.5

Continued from page 118

<i>North East U.P. :</i>							
Bahraich	2,78,46,672	71,264	11,60,319	75,111	26,08,842	24,000	10.7
Firuzabad	25,18,896	66,303	1,0,400	65,343	2,81,413	23,452	13.6
TOTAL	3,03,65,568	12,67,719		28,90,255	23,954	10.8	
<i>Gorakhpur :</i>							
Gorakhpur	1,43,12,147	75,449	1,84,309	93,278	90,97,370	77,653	1.6
Kharansa	15,78,061	73,070	20,817	88,139	5,15,671	75,806	2.5
TOTAL	1,58,90,208		2,05,126		96,13,041	77,465	1.6
<i>East U.P. :</i>							
Jaunpur	6,60,70,619	72,691	6,18,520	81,621	53,33,617	106.8	12.4
Benaras	1,06,32,741	75,685	1,57,273	80,397	5,39,938	93.8	19.7
Chunar	69,73,145	73,827	78,456	82,781	14,15,454	88.8	4.9
Ghazipur	1,64,75,542	73,877	2,13,114	86,061	6,99,881	77.3	23.4
TOTAL	10,01,52,047		10,67,363		79,88,890	93.8	12.5
<i>Allahabad :</i>							
Jajmau	60,36,325	69,229	70,856	41,949	2,47,158	85.2	24.4
Karrah	2,50,96,881	66,877	3,43,401	63,951	11,19,832	73.1	22.4
Kurtia	23,13,409	66,564	26,743	60,616	1,92,307	86.5	12.0
Kora	1,25,26,145	67,893	2,31,626	63,951	5,92,832	54.1	21.1
Rai Bareily	1,09,02,047	66,627	1,13,469	70,193	5,63,956	9.66	19.3
Manikpur	2,19,97,785	71,096	3,35,091	70,871	14,22,047	65.6	20.5
Ghiswa	12,52,407	71,598	14,189	76,531	31,532	88.3	39.7
Bhadoi	1,74,47,910	60,734	1,75,859	53,765	7,45,529	49.2	23.4
Allahabad	—	60,734	—	53,765	—	—	—
TOTAL	9,75,72,909	13,11,239		49,15,193	74.4	19.847	

APPENDIX - C

(wherever J'/A' is below 45 *dams* per *bigha* (see *Appendix B*) A' is assumed to be identical with gross cultivation. wherever J'/A' is above 45, the gross cultivation for 1595 is worked out by dividing J' by 30. Such figures are marked with an asterisk*).

<i>Dastur-circle</i>	<i>Gross Cultivation</i> 1595 (GC)	<i>Gross Cultivation</i> 1909-10 (C)	<i>GC</i> <i>as % of C</i>
<i>North West U.P. :</i>			
Deoband	20,34,333*	22,29,465	91.248
Chandpur	4,54,655*	10,87,223	41.819
Sambhal	19,74,562	26,03,658	75.838
Lakhnaur	5,26,579	11,72,209	44.923
Kairana	2,13,080	1,40,975	151.147
TOTAL	52,03,209	72,33,530	71.932
<i>Delhi :</i>			
Delhi	14,80,307	24,50,073	60.419
Meerut	11,96,158	13,10,590	91.269
Baran	5,92,411	8,67,669	68.276
TOTAL	32,68,876	46,28,332	70.63
<i>Rohilkhand :</i>			
Badaun	13,62,064	50,05,895	27.209
Bharwara	21,25,267*	21,62,269	98.289
Pali	5,21,514	14,92,018	34.954
TOTAL	40,08,845	86,60,182	46.291
<i>Middle Doab :</i>			
Thana Farida	5,71,831	13,20,210	43.314
Akbarabad	4,49,354	3,55,714	79.161
Kol	6,73,556	8,08,113	83.349
Marchra	3,14,067	2,42,588	129.465
Sikandarpur Aterji	70,223	2,42,280	28.984
TOTAL	20,79,031	29,68,905	70.027
<i>Agra :</i>			
Agra	21,25,267	21,62,269	98.289
<i>Lower Doab (Jamnna) :</i>			
Etawa	13,15,155	10,88,003	120.878
Phaphund	2,69,460*	2,17,296	80.641
Kalpi	10,20,227	17,16,375	59.441
TOTAL	26,04,842	30,21,674	86.205

*Continued from page 120**Lower Doab (Ganga) :*

Sakit	3,32,824	5,69,992	58.391
Bhogaon	11,35,451	16,68,350	68.058
Kanauj	6,19,953*	12,75,323	48.611
TOTAL	20,88,228	35,13,665	59.43

Lucknow :

Khairabad	8,34,522	20,48,825	40.732
Unam	5,41,901	8,67,395	62.475
Lucknow	19,50,363	37,33,943	52.233
Ibrahimabad	14,040	78,000	18.000
Awadh	20,40,478	25,20,718	80.948
Kishni	24,053*	53,571	222.721
TOTAL	54,05,357	93,02,452	58.61

North East U.P. :

Bahraich	11,60,319	26,08,842	44.476
Firuzabad	1,07,400	2,81,413	38.164
TOTAL	12,67,719	28,90,255	43.862

Gorakhpur :

Gorakhpur	5,29,674*	96,13,041	5.510
Khuransa	52,602*	5,15,671	10.291
TOTAL	5,82,276	1,01,28,712	5.749

East U.P. :

Jaunpur	22,02,354*	53,33,617	41.292
Benaras	3,54,425*	5,39,938	65.642
Chunar	2,32,438*	14,15,455	16.421
Ghazipur	5,49,185*	6,99,881	78.468
TOTAL	33,38,402	79,88,891	41.788

Allahabad :

Jajmau	2,01,210*	2,47,158	81.410
Karrah	8,36,568	11,19,832	74.704
Kurtia	77,114*	1,92,307	40.099
Kora	4,17,538*	5,92,832	70.431
Rai Bareilly	3,63,402*	5,63,956	64.438
Manikpur	7,33,254*	14,22,047	51.564
Ghuswa	31,532*	14,189	44.999
Bhadoi	5,81,597*	7,46,526	77.907
TOTAL	32,42,215	48,98,847	66.183
Grand Total	3,52,14,267	6,71,55,126	52.437

CARTOGRAPHY IN MUGHAL INDIA

IRFAN HABIB

BEFORE the modern regular surveys, the map-maker had two major sources of information: first, the distances between various points along routes, and, secondly, the coordinates (latitudes and longitudes) of different places. The two divergent sources suggested two divergent forms of mapping. The former suited a flat surface framed by grids; and the latter, a sphere encompassed by meridians and parallels. Needham has shown how, over the centuries, China evolved a developed system of cartography based on the grid-system;¹ and it is probable that early Chinese map-making depended almost entirely on route-distances and directions. The classical Arab cartography also relied almost entirely upon route-information. One can see this in the maps published in Kramer's edition of the *Sūrat al-'Arz* of Ibn Hauqal (10th century).² The rivers and coasts are shown in highly stylized manner, running in straight lines and symmetrical curves; and there is no attempt at marking the degrees of latitude and longitude. The routes and the principal places along them are, on the other hand, quite faithfully shown, with some effort spent on spacing them according to distances.

The 13th-century Persian translation of *Istakhari*, another Arab geographer of the 10th century, reproduced the entire set of the old Arab maps.³ But soon afterwards a cartographic innovation made its appearance with the maps of Iran and the world, prepared by Ḥam-dullah Mustaufi for his *Tārikh-i Guzida* (1329-30) and *Nuzhatu-l Qulūb* (1339-40).⁴ This was nothing less than a complete shift from a map assuming a flat surface to a projection of the sphere.

1 J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, III, Cambridge, 1959, pp. 533 ff.

2 The map of Sind from another copy of the same work is reproduced in Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, I, p. 32. For particular regions, as for example, Sind, these Arab maps achieve a remarkable degree of accuracy.

3 Br. Mus. MS. Add. 23,542, ff. 1-113b. Cf. Rieu's Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, I, p. 415. The British Museum MS. itself was transcribed in 1835-36; but the maps are probably faithful copies.

4 The maps are not reproduced in Le Strange's edition of the *Nuzhatu-l Qulūb*, nor in the more recent Teheran edition (1958) by Mohammad Dabiriyaghi. In the British Museum, the following MSS. contain the maps: Add. 16, 737, ff. 160b-161a, 230a; Add. 16, 736, ff. 143b-144a; Add. 23, 543, ff. 162b-163a, 241b-242a, & Add. 23, 544, ff. 157a, 226b. The omission of the coast-line in the map of Iran in Add. 23, 543 is probably due to oversight by the copyist.

In what must be one of his very rare errors of judgement, Needham describes Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī's maps as grid-maps; and this leads him to speak of the maps as belonging to the Mongolian school, drawing upon Chinese inspiration.¹ This misunderstanding may possibly have arisen because Needham, knowing of the maps only from the *Tārikh-i Guzida*, missed the explanations provided in the text of the *Nuzhatu-l Qulūb*; and also because Ḥamdullāh failed to adjust his meridians to the discoidal representation of the world in his world-map, thereby giving rise to the suspicion that his vertical meridians were grids.

In his text Ḥamdullāh describes his Map of Iran as a *jadwal* (table) in which the various towns are placed according to the longitudes and latitudes assigned to them in the astronomical tables (*zījāt*).² The map is indeed a table if one disregards the lines representing the coasts. The straight lines forming the squares of the table represent degrees of latitude and longitude; and the name of each place is written in the appropriate square (with no spot to indicate its position) according to the co-ordinates assigned to it. It is thus easy to see that the map originated out of an attempt at tabulating the co-ordinates in a new and concise form. The addition of the coast-line may be the only reason for treating it as a map, not a table.

However, as a map, it was definitely not a grid-map but a plate carree, a map based on the simple non-perspective cylindrical projection, precisely the kind out of which Mercator's projection was to develop subsequently. Here all North-South distances are accurate; and so too all distances along the Equator. But all East-West distances tend to be more and more exaggerated with each increase in latitude, though the exaggeration is far less than in Mercator's projection.

Ḥamdullāh's Map of the World, though lamentable in its failure to adjust the meridians to a spherical shape, also shows considerable advance on the old Arab maps of the Inhabited Quarter. What he offers us is a map of the entire Eastern Hemisphere; and the advance on even Idrīsī's map of the Inhabited Quarter (12th century)³ is phenomenal. Now, with Ḥamdullāh, India is at last recognized as a peninsula. There is a tendency however, to omit rivers altogether.

What may surprise one is that Ḥamdullāh should have had no imme-

1 Needham, *op. cit.*, III, p. 584. He reproduces a copy of Ḥamdullāh's map of Iran between pp. 564 & 565 (fig. 240): In this copy as in others the latitudes and longitudes are indicated by *abjad* numerals in the margins.

2 *Nuzhatu-l Qulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 21. Le Strange too made a strange slip when he described this celebrated Map as 'a rough map'; and added in his translation of the same work (1919), p. 23, n. 3, that it was not 'worth reproducing'. Even on the basis of the large number of places shown, the map is of inestimable value.

3 Reproduced in Needham, III, between pp. 564 & 565 (fig. 239).

diate successors. Hāfiẓ Ābrū in his work on Geography (1414-20) did prepare a Map of the World, which is quite obviously based on Hamdullāh; but his map of the Red Sea region is on the older Arab pattern with no meridians or parallels.¹

The next stage in cartographic development, in linear descent from Hamdullāh, is marked by a work written in India more than three centuries after him. In 1647 Ṣādiq Isfahānī completed at Jaunpur, after three years of labour, an encyclopaedic work called *Shāhid-i Ṣādiq*. Much of this work consists of wise counsels and apt anecdotes; but the geographical portion is extremely factual and detailed. The only complete Manuscript of this work in the British Museum (Egerton 1016) contains (from f. 335a to 351a) a series of maps, which the author had prepared to accompany his text.²

These maps are breath-taking in their coverage and arrangement: they form a World Atlas. The first map is a map of the Inhabited Quarter. This is followed by 33 'sheets', i.e. maps covering different segments each delimited by different meridians and parallels, very similar in manner to modern survey sheets whose coverage too is defined on the same principle. Each of Ṣādiq's sheets covers one side of a folio. India, for example is covered in 6 sheets: f. 338b (Lat. 11°-21°N.; Long. 100°-120°); f. 338b (11°-12°N; 120°-140°E); f. 342a (19°-29°N; 90°-110°E); f. 342b (19°-29°N; 110°-130°E); f. 346a (27°-39°N; 90°-110°E); and f. 346b (27°-39°N; 110°-130°E).

It is a pity that the Atlas comes down to us through a manuscript whose scribe was not, to judge from his transcription of the text, a careful copyist. The colophon to the MS. contains no date, though it was probably transcribed during the 18th century. The text gives no indication of any interpolations at any point of the kind that are found in the Bodleian fragments of the same work.³ We can be sure, then, that though the maps as we have them cannot be free from copying errors, they are still sufficiently faithful for us to pronounce upon the quality of the original sheets.

The first map on f. 335a, is a map of the Inhabited Quarter, i.e. the northern portion of the Eastern Hemisphere, and not, like Hamdullāh's

1 Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1577, ff. 7b-8a, 43b.

2 The British Museum has another and much better written copy of the same work in Or. 1626, transcribed at Lahore in 1823-24. But it lacks the maps and the list of places with co-ordinates that follows them. However, it too has the passage where the author refers to his maps and their form of presentation and symbols (Egerton 1016, f. 334 b; Or. 1626, f. 345b).

3 Two fragments from the geographical portion, corresponding to folios 352a-359a & 408a-446a of Egerton 1016, are found in a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Ouseley 292. It contains some obvious 18th-century interpolations.

Map, a map of the whole Hemisphere. It is also less detailed, and if anything, more erroneous. It does, however, represent India as a peninsula and adds Ceylon at its southern tip, though the latter improvement is spoilt by showing another island of similar size in close proximity. As with Ḥamdullāh, the South is put at the top, and North at the bottom. The degrees of longitude are shown along the Equator and the latitudes along the rim of the half disc. The seven 'climes' (*iqlim*), the Greek divisions along parallels according to the varying lengths of the longest days,¹ are also marked on the rim. But like Ḥamdullāh, Ṣādiq fails to give curvature to his meridians: These do not meet at the North Pole, but running in straight vertical lines meet the rim (which itself represents his 0° and 180° degrees of Longitude) at different points.

The 33 sheets that comprise Ṣādiq's Atlas, and follow the World-Map are drawn essentially on the same principle as Ḥamdullāh's Map of Iran. That is, the lines representing degrees of latitude and longitude form equal squares; and a town is put in each of them according to the co-ordinates assigned to it. It may be noted that Sadiq's own text (Egerton 1016, ff. 352a-359a) contains a long list of places with co-ordinates. On the maps black straight lines indicate the parallels separating the *iqlims*, another device inherited from Ḥamdullāh. Like Ḥamdullāh, Ṣādiq too does not put any point to mark the exact position of a town, the usual practice in the classical Arab maps. It, therefore, retains its semblance to a table of co-ordinates.

But Ṣādiq's sheets are quite definitely true maps, far more than Ḥamdullāh's Map of Iran. Here names of countries are written astride several squares, thus indicating regions on the map, rather than degrees of latitude and longitude of specific points. There is also an attempt to show physical features. As Ṣādiq himself explains,

"In these pages (i.e. maps), the straight lines in vermilion represent degrees (of latitude and longitude); cuts represent the rivers, with the insides filled in with vermilion, and (similarly) the oceans. The black straight lines represent the parallels dividing the 'climes' (*iqlims*). The wavy lines symbolize the mountains."²

The maps as we have them contain all these indications in accordance with the author's intentions. The seas are all inked-in with red or vermilion. In Ḥamdullāh the sea was left white, though in Hāfiẓ Ābrū's map of the world, gold is used to show the oceans. Whether Ṣādiq's original maps had more rivers, we cannot know; but in the maps as we have them, the rivers are sparingly shown, the *Gangā* ('River Gang') and

1 For Ṣādiq Isfahāni's explanation of this division, see Egerton 1016, ff. 333b-334b.

2 Egerton 1016, f. 334b. Or. 1626, f. 345b, also contains this passage.

Jamunā ('River Jaman') being the only ones shown within India. But the courses of these two rivers are carefully drawn, precisely in the manner indicated by Śādiq. Similarly, mountains such as the mountains of Southern Iran, the Pamirs, the Himalayas, the 'Siwaliks' and the 'Gondwana Ranges' are indicated by successive wavy lines, clearly standing for chains of hills.

There is no doubt that in respect of India at least these maps mark a substantial advance over the earlier Arabic and Persian maps. Not only do they show India on a scale larger than any attempted before, but the details too are considerable. The main outlines of the Indian peninsula bear some resemblance to the actual, though they are still crude compared to the delineations of the Indian coast-line in contemporary European maps.¹ But while for some reason the delineation of the Ganga in European maps was absolutely wrong—it is made to run practically North to South and to have a far longer course above its confluence with Jamuna R., than below it,—Śādiq's maps show the two rivers more or less as they are shown in modern maps.

Śādiq's maps are marred by certain obvious errors. These are sheer drawing errors, as a result of which the coast-lines and river courses of one 'sheet' do not tally with those in the other. Though all places are shown correctly on either side of the Ganga and Jamuna R., Badaun is placed between the two rivers and not across the Ganga. Finally, there are errors in assigning places to correct squares. Burhānpūr is placed in one sheet (f. 338a) in the square for lat. $20^{\circ} +$ and long. $116^{\circ} +$; but in another sheet (f. 342b) in the square for lat. $19^{\circ} +$, long. $115^{\circ} +$. In Śādiq's own list, the co-ordinates assigned to Burhānpūr are 22° lat., 116° long.² Therefore, apart from the consideration whether the co-ordinates were determined correctly, it is clear that there have been errors either in assigning the names of the places within the appropriate squares by the author himself or in copying from the original maps. In view of the lack of care often exhibited by our copyist, it would not be fair to put the blame for all such errors on the author himself.

One would naturally ask whether Śādiq was an innovator in preparing the Atlas, or he was merely following an existing model. The detailed coverage of India makes it unlikely that he had simply picked up and reproduced the maps and the accompanying lists of co-ordinates

1 See, for example, the maps of the Mughal Empire, published with the Paris (1970) and Amsterdam (1672) editions of Bernier's travels and reproduced by V.A. Smith in his edition of A. Constable's translation of Bernier's *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, London, 1616, facing pp. 238 & 454.

2 Egerton 1016, f. 353b. In the Bodleian copy of this list (Ouseley 292, f. 3b), the co-ordinates are given as 27° lat., 112° long.; the true lat. of Burhanpur is $21^{\circ} 17'$ N.

from a work written in Persia. Ṣādiq himself says in the passage preceding his reference to his maps, that he could not entirely depend upon the numerous works on geography that had been written by his predecessors: Many towns had disappeared since they were written; place-names had been transferred from one site to another, rendering older co-ordinates obsolete; and there were differences in the determination of co-ordinates owing to faulty instruments. He had, therefore, exercised his faculty of selection in dealing with the recorded information and also made use of what he could gather from wise and learned travellers over land and sea.¹ This suggests that Ṣādiq was not a blind imitator or plagiarist, but had his own contribution to make. It does not, however, answer our main question, whether he had any models for preparing and arranging his maps in the precise way he did, beyond Hamdullāh's Map of Iran. The MSS. of earlier geographical works of the 16th and 17th centuries seldom contain maps,² and for the moment the chain-linking Hamdullāh and Ṣādiq must remain largely obscure.

Another matter to be considered is the possibility of European inspiration behind Ṣādiq's maps. Maps and globes from Europe had begun to excite some interest among the nobility. In 1623 Pelsaert at Agra suggested that "one or two maps of the entire world," together with "decorative pictures showing comic incidents or nude figures" be included in annual shipments by the Dutch to India, for sale to "nobles or great men."³ "A large paire of gloabs (globes)" was desired of the English by the Quīb Shāh in 1639;⁴ and in 1650 "globes" were given the first place among rarities of low price that an English factor thought would be welcome as presents to Prince Shāh Shujā' and his officers in Bengal.⁵

Yet there is no evidence that any conscious attempt was made to copy these maps or assimilate their information. The reception given to Mercator's *Atlas* at Jahangir's court is probably indicative of the general attitude. In 1617, Sir Thomas Roe presented to the Emperor, the latest edition of Mercator's "Maps of the World," the volume "well bound fille-

1 Egerton 1016, f. 334v; Or. 1626, f. 345b.

2 I have checked Sultān Muḥammad, *Majma'ul Ghara'ib* (A.D. 1560), Br. Mus: Add. 15, 241; Anonymous, *Tuhfa-i 'Ainu-l Hayāt* (A.D. 1564-65), Bodleian: Ouseley Add. 142; Amin Ahmad Razi, *Haft Iqlim* (A.D. 1593), Aligarh: Qutbuddīn Collection, Persian 100/20; Anonymous, *Inīkhāb Kitāb Suwar Aqlāim*, (early 17th century), Br. Mus: Add. 7720; and Tahir bin Abū-l Qāsim, *'Aja'ibul Tabaqāt* (c. A.D. 1646), Royal Asiatic Society (London): P. 179. None of the MSS. of these works seen by me have maps.

3 *Jahangir's India*, tr. Geyl and Moreland. p. 26.

4 *English Factories in India, 1637-41*, ed. W. Foster, p. 183.

5 *Ibid.*, 1646-50, p. 338.

ted and gilt." Jahangir took it courteously, but returned it a fortnight later saying, "he had shewed it his Mulaīs (*mullās*) and no man could reade nor understand it."¹ It need not greatly surprise us, then, that Ṣādiq too, while embarking on his splendid cartographic venture, remained immune to any recognizable influence of European cartography. I have at any rate failed to detect anything even remotely borrowed from the European craft.

Another question arises, too. It is, whether maps like Ṣādiq Isfahānī's were only kind of maps in use in India. We know that Aurangzeb used maps.² It would be interesting to know on what principles these were drawn up. An 18th-century Persian map of the world drawn up in India and published by Rehatsek³, is based on the standard *iqlim* classification, though its details about India are not without interest.

There were also the route-tables, which, as they are set out in the *Chahār Gulshan* of Rai Chaturman Saksena (1759-60), were not mere lists of names of places serving as stages, with distances between them, but had 'cartographic' elements too, with courses of rivers drawn to run across the routes and scarp or mountains being shown by drawing short vertical lines along a few parallel horizontal lines.⁴ It is, however, noticeable that Ṣādiq makes no attempt to show routes; so that the two kinds of information, routes and co-ordinates, are not assembled together on the same map. In Europe that step had been taken long before, with Erhard Etzlaub's map of the Road to Rome, about A.D. 1500.⁵

From the products of cartography, we may now pass on to the materials on which it was based. We have suggested that with Hamdullāh Mustaufī in the 14th century, Islamic cartography witnessed a shift from routes to meridians and parallels. This shift was not confined to cartography. The classical Arab geographers had woven their accounts of places and countries around and along the trade-routes. The later geographers weave their accounts around regions classed within *iqlims*, i.e. on the basis of latitudes. The route-tables accordingly tend to be replaced, in the geographical works, by tables of co-ordinates.

The impulse for the compilation of these tables derived only secondarily from interest in geography. Astronomical observation demanded the determination of the latitude and longitude of the point from which

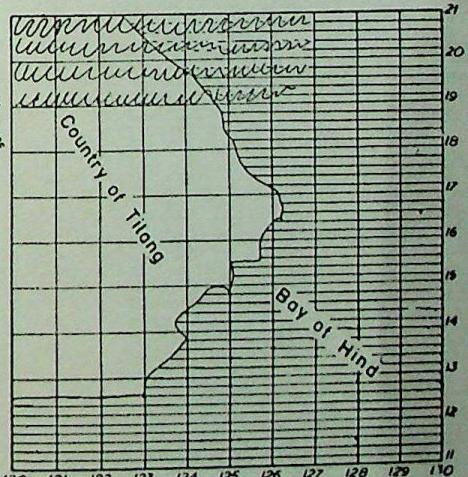
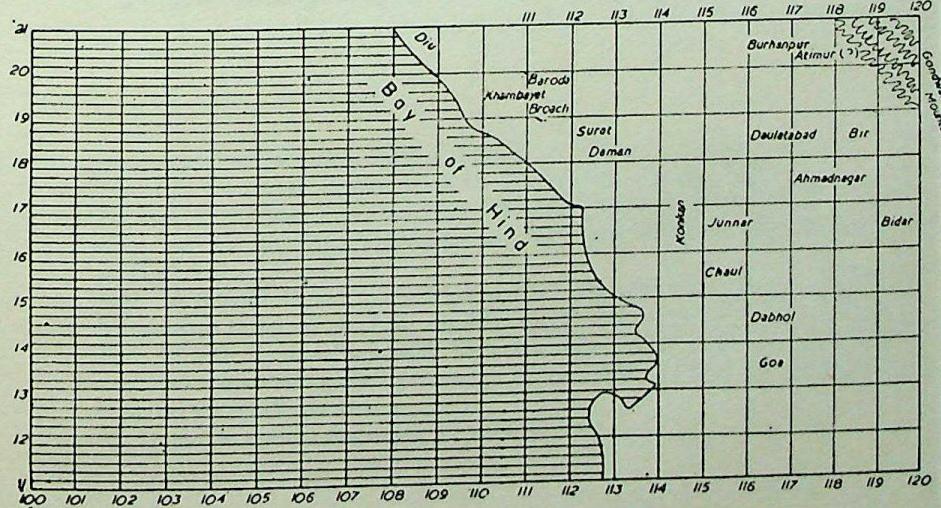
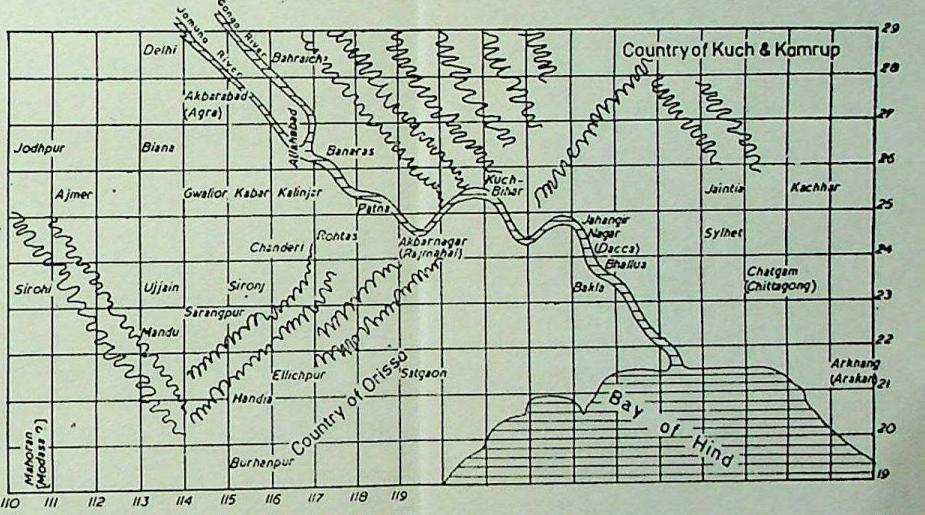
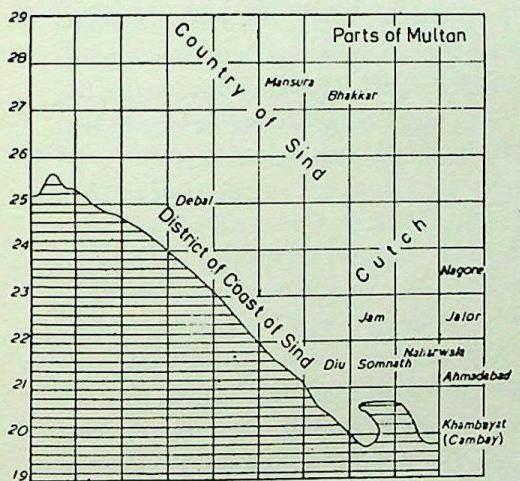
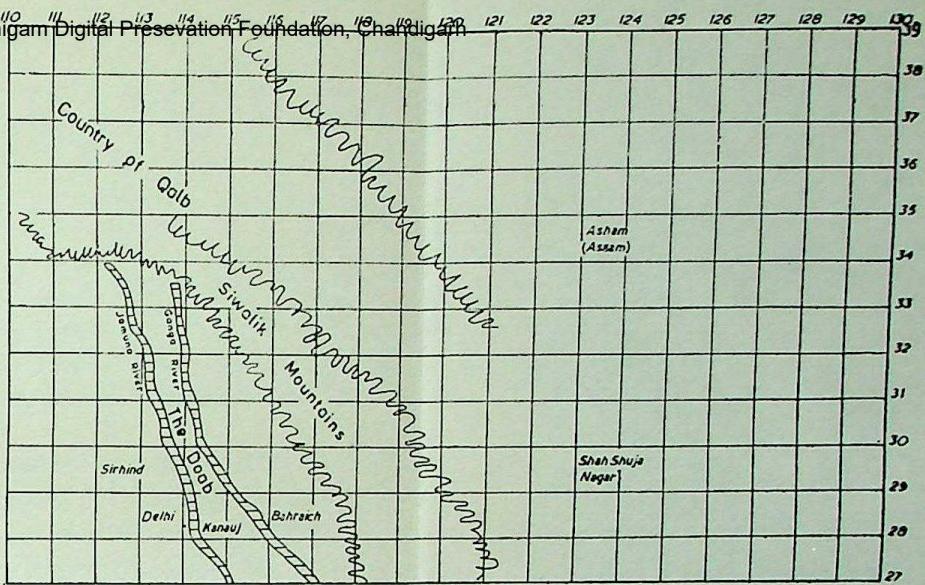
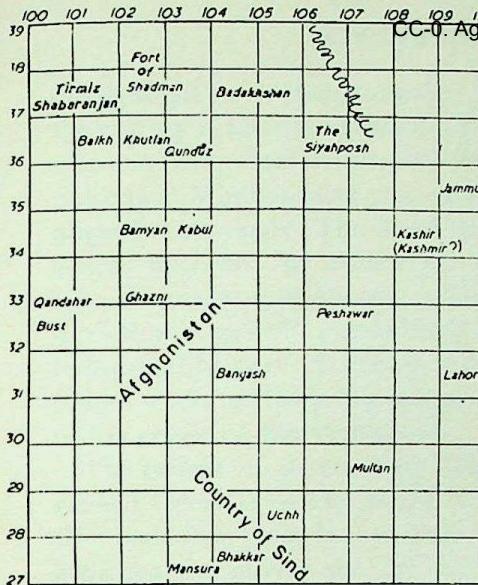
1 Purchas his *Pilgrimes*, MacLehose ed., IV, pp. 406-7, 409.

2 See, e.g. *Akhbārāt*, R.A.S. (London), 45/85: "The map (*naqsha*) of Taṅkōkan (Konkan), sent by Basīlat Khān, was inspected by the Emperor, upon its being presented by 'Ināyatullāh Khān.'

3 *Indian Antiquary*, I, 1872, pp. 369-70.

4 See MS. of the work at Aligarh: Habibganj 32/157, ff. 136a-141b.

5 E.G.R. Taylor in *History of Technology*, ed. Singer, &c. III, pp. 534-5.



INDIA AS SHOWN IN SADIO ISFAHANI'S MAPS 1647-48

The original maps of course, give the place names in Persian characters; and the north point to the bottom, not to the top, with other compass directions arranged accordingly.

determining the latitudes seems quite impressive:¹

	Jai Singh's lat.	True lat.
Delhi	28°37'	28°38'
Jaipur	26°54'	26°55'
Ujjain	23°10'	23°09'

But such accuracy was by no means achieved in respect of most places, including even the capital cities, by other writers and even by Jai Singh himself. The latitude given for Delhi in the *Ā'in-i Akbari* is 28°15', i.e. wrong by 23 minutes.² For Agra, the *Ā'in*³ recorded the lat. of 27°03'; Shahjahan's official historian, Lāhori,⁴ 26°03' (26°30'?). and Jai Singh,⁵ 26°48'. All are wide off the mark, the true latitude being 27°10'. For Lahore, Ulugh Beg's latitude 31°50' is followed without change by the *Ā'in*,⁶ Lāhori⁷ and Jai Singh.⁸ This faithful repetition was, perhaps, partly justified, since the true latitude is 31°37'.

Sādiq Isfahānī, our cartographer rather prudently confines himself to stating degrees only. His values for latitudes of the places mentioned above (excepting Jaipur not founded until then) are:⁹

	Sadiq	True
Delhi	29°	28°38'
Agra	27°	27°10'
Lahore	32°	31°37'
Ujjain	23°	23°09'

1 Jai Singh's latitudes for Delhi and Jaipur are given as recorded in Br. Mus. MS. Add. 14,373, ff. 116b, 120b. For Ujjain, Hunter's reading of the lat. given in the *Zīj* has been followed; Add. 14,373, f. 120b, reads 23°30' instead. The true lat. determined for Jai Singh's observatory at Delhi by Hunter was 28°37'37" and for Ujjain 23°10'24" (*Asiatick Researches*, V, pp. 190, 195-6).

The *Ā'in-i Akbari* had also given Ujjain the latitude of 23°30' (Br. Mus. Add. 5652, p. 281; Add. 7556, p. 314).

Jai Singh does not give his own latitudes for Mathura and Banaras (Varanasi), the places where his other observatories stood. The latitude he gives for 'Bārānsī' is simply borrowed from Ulugh Beg.

2 *Ā'in-i Akbari*, I, p. 283.

3 *Ibid.*, II, p. 30. Blochmann's ed. shows co-ordinates for a large number of places, entries against which are left blank in the earlier MSS. These must be later interpolations. But the latitude given for Agra is found also in the Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 5652 and 7556, which are among the best surviving MSS. of the work.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, Bib. Ind., I, i. p. 156.

5 Add. 14, 373, f. 119a.

6 *Ā'in-i Akbari*, I, p. 538.

7 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, i, p. 16.

8 Add. 14, 373, f. 120b.

9 See the lists in Br. Mus.: MS. Egerton 1016, ff. 352a-359a; Bodleian: Ouseley 292, ff. 1b-15b.

Khareghat has given full comparative lists of co-ordinates inscribed on two 17th and 18th century astrolabes examined by him, together with the true co-ordinates; and this subject can be pursued further by a scrutiny of the evidence collected by him,¹ besides the evidence of the other *zij*-tables, compiled during the 17th century.

While the failure of 17th and early 18th century Indian astronomers to achieve complete accuracy in determining latitudes is quite obvious, it is not certain that instruments in use in Europe had achieved any greater success during the 17th century. The latitudes that Marshall worked out with a quadrant in 1670 and 1671 for Patna and Hugli were higher than the true ones, by 22' in one case and 15' in the other.² But he had been far more successful than Grueber who in 1662 attempted to determine the latitude of Patna and was wrong by almost one degree.³

The determination of longitude was a far more difficult process than of latitude, in days before the invention of the chronometer. Theoretically, if the latitudes of two places were known, then one had only to discover the distance between them with the simple further knowledge as to which of the two was to the east of the other, in order to establish the difference between them in terms of longitude. But the distance had to be 'as the crow flies' and not road-distance; and this was very difficult to establish with exactitude in the plains, let alone in hilly country.

These difficulties are borne upon us by a discussion of the longitude of Haidarābād (Hyderabad) a letter by Hājjī 'Abdul 'Ali Tabrizī, whose collection of letters covers the period from about 1650 to about 1680.⁴ In response to a query from an 'Ādil Shāhī noble regarding this matter, the Hājjī casts doubt on the longitude 105°E, given to Haidarābād by the local astronomers. Bidiāpūr (Bijāpūr) was to the west of Haidarābād, and since its astronomers by "flawless observation" had determined its longitude to be 110°E, the longitude of Haidarābād had to be higher. An astronomer freshly arrived from Iran had pronounced its longitude to be 112°E; and this seemed reasonable. But in the Hājjī's view, certainty could be achieved only by measuring the distance between the two cities, since, in the latitudes of the places in question, 20 to 22 *farsakhs* (leagues) would be the distance equal to one full degree of longitude.⁵

1 Khareghat, *Astrolabes*, pp. 26-28, 64-65.

2 Marshall, *Notes and Observations in Bengal*, 1668-72, ed. S.A. Khan, London, 1927, pp. 79, 103.

3 His value was 24°44'. The true latitude is 25°37' (C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603-1721*, The Hague, 1927).

4 The unique MS. is in the British Museum: Add. 6600. The collection is adequately described by Rieu in his Catalogue, i, pp. 398-99.

5 Add. 6600, ff. 188b-119a.

It is probable that such was the usual way in which longitudes were determined. A more refined way had been suggested by Ptolemy; and that was by measuring time, not distance, to establish relative longitudes. This was repeated in the *Zīj* of Ulugh Beg: Lunar eclipse was to be availed of, and the time elapsing between the noon at each of the two places and the beginning or end of the eclipse was to be measured. Each difference of an hour in the periods elapsing at the two places meant a difference of 15 degrees of longitude.¹ Jai Singh copies this passage, but makes a significant addition: As soon as the sun had reached and passed its highest altitude at noon, he says, the observer was to set up the time-keeping water vessel or the sand-glass (*shīsha-i sā'at*), and record the time until the eclipse began or ended.²

There is a suggestion in Jai Singh's practical advice that the measurement of time was no longer simply a matter of theory but could actually be followed in practice. The sand-glass, which became known in Europe only in the latter half of the 14th century,³ might well have not been known to Ulugh Beg. But it is described by Faiżī Sirhindī in dictionary, completed in A.D. 1598, s.v. *shīsha-hā-i sā'at*.⁴ Mughal miniatures of about this time show the sand-glass as a part of the astronomer's tool-kit.⁵ This small instrument must have greatly helped in keeping time with sufficient accuracy and precision, and so correspondingly improved the accuracy by which relative longitudes could be established.

It is certain that Jai Singh was greatly interested in this method. His *Zīj* does not state longitudes alongside latitudes, but gives instead the time-difference between Delhi and the other places. Thus for example, the time-difference with the newly founded city of Jaipur was determined as *nil gharī*, 12 *pals* and 30 *bipals*.⁶ This meant a difference in longitude of 1 degree 15 minutes. The true difference is 1 degree 20 minutes. For Ujjain, Jai Singh gives a time-difference yielding 1°35'; the true difference is 1°29'. Patna is similarly placed 6°00' E of Delhi; it is actually 6°01' away from Delhi. But in other cases, the time-differences given are so inaccurate as to engender the suspicion that Jai Singh had not really measured the time-difference, but simply converted differences between longitudes given for those places in existing tables and his own longitude for

1 Ulugh Beg, *Zīj*, Br. Mus. Add. 16, 742, ff. 19a-20a; Add. 11, 637, f. 19a-b.

2 Add. 14, 373, f. 21a-b.

3 D. J. Price in *History of Technology*, ed. Singer, &c., III, p. 601.

4 *Madarū-l Afazil*, II, p. 600.

5 See W.C. Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, plate 20; Lubor Hajek, *Indian Miniatures of the Moghul School*, plate 18.

6 Add. 14, 373, ff. 120b, 130b.

Delhi into time-differences by simple calculation.¹ For example:

Place	Time-difference according to Jai Singh (<i>gharis</i>)	Implied difference in Longitudes	True difference in Longitudes
E of Delhi			
Agra	0.14.0	1°25'	0°53'
Etawa	0.21.0	2°06'	1°50'
Lucknow	0.20.0	2°00'	3°47'
W. of Delhi			
Lahore	0.42.30	4°15'	2°86'
Ahmadabad	0.12.30	1°15'	5°32'
Samarqand	2.23.10	14°19'	10°07'

The only thing one can say in favour of Jai Singh is that others were even more inaccurate: Abu-l Fazl recorded longitudes for Lahore and Delhi that indicated a difference of as much as 6°40'.²

One factor which complicated the calculation of longitudes was the choice of the prime meridian. The Islamic astronomers and geographers chose the meridian running through the imaginary Atlantic islands of the *Khālidāt* as their 0° longitude. It had theoretical advantage in that the whole Eastern Hemisphere could be encompassed between longitudes 0° and 180°. But it should have had little else to recommend it. It was impossible to fix the longitude of any place firmly in relation to so distant and imaginary a line—distant, that is, for countries in Asia. The result was that different observers fixed longitudes of particular places by reference to different points whose own longitudes were dubious and subject to revision by reference to yet other points. Thus a particular longitude for a place might continue to be accepted, while the point in relation to which this had been determined might be assigned a fresh one. The confusion would be compounded as these various longitudes would appear in astronomical tables or *zīj*, without any indication of the original basis of calculation in each case. Copying and partial revisions would make matters only worse. We have noticed a complaint that Haidarābād was placed in the long. 105°E, whereas

1 *Ibid.*, ff. 119a-123a. It may be said in passing that while measuring distance would be more feasible for determining relative longitudes of places near each other, measuring time would in fact be easier for places separated far from each other, since the margin of error would be greater in measuring seconds rather than minutes.

2 *Ā'in*, I, pp. 283, 538.

Bijāpūr, which is considerably to the west of it, was assigned 110° E. Even Jai Singh, presumably basing himself here on existing tables, gives such time-differences for Ahmadābād and Sūrat in relation to Delhi, as to imply that Ahmadābād was $0^{\circ}45'$ east of Sūrat.¹ In fact, it is $0^{\circ}12'$ to the west. The difference could have been eliminated if the positions of the two cities had been checked with one another.

Jai Singh's attempt to make Delhi the central point for fixing longitudes was a sound move for the purpose of achieving accuracy for places in India. It is a pity that for so many places he should still have uncritically accepted the values in earlier tables going back to Ulugh Beg, and possibly even Alberūnī (11th century), spoiling the effect of his own endeavour almost altogether.

It was, under the circumstances, inevitable that when Sādiq compiled his list of places with co-ordinates, the longitudes should be very largely inaccurate. The other lists such as those inscribed on Khareghat's astrolabes were hardly any better.²

A map based on co-ordinates given in these lists could not help being very inaccurate. The wonder, perhaps, is that Sādiq was still able to maintain some semblance of accuracy in the relative positions of towns, on his sheets for India.

I should like to close this article with the plea that maps surviving in MSS. of texts or separately may be given greater attention than has been the case hitherto. A proper study of Mughal Indian cartography can, of course, be attempted only when we have not one stray set of maps, however splendid, to go upon, but a more diverse collection. In so far as they depict man's interest in and image of the world he inhabits, these maps should always tell us something more than the mere state of the cartographer's art.

¹ Add. 14, 373, f. 120b.

² Khareghat, *Astrolabes*, pp. 26-28, 64-65.

RELIGION AND MEDIEVAL INDIAN POLITY: SOME REFLECTIONS

M. ATHAR ALI

THE place and the role that are to be assigned to religion in history, especially in determining the content and pace of social change, are matters on which systematisers of historical interpretation have widely diverged. With the conquest of world by Western Civilization, developed what may be called the classical view. In this, Christianity was regarded as the characteristic religion, a religion that in its various forms and phases represented the highest attainments of the human spirit, and shaped, through its ethics, the formation of the most advanced of contemporary civilizations, namely Western Civilization. Among 20th-century thinkers, Toynbee has spoken best and most voluminously, for identifying civilizations by their religions. Even a historian of technology like Lynn White can attribute the labour-saving devices invented or introduced in feudal Europe to the spirit of mercy propagated by the Catholic Church; and Tawney can trace the rise of Capitalism to Christian Reformation. Quite naturally the inclination to locate the sources of social and political changes in religious outlook was still more marked in European historical writings of the 19th century. This is not a matter of surprise, since in feudal Europe the Catholic Church did have an almost decisive voice in the affairs of state, and stood as a power superior to the Emperor and Kings. It was natural for European historians to suppose that this was not a specific phenomenon of Europe, but a general feature of all pre-modern societies.

This idea of religion as a determinant of political and social change was thus a modern idea imported from Europe into Indian historiography. The individual medieval historian might be an Orthodox Muslim, glorying in the victories of the faith and the humiliation of the infidel; but the idea that religion shaped political or social history escaped him, because he was not at all concerned with analysing the slow changes that occur in social structure or polity. He saw changes on the surface alone, and these could be attributed purely to the personal wishes of rulers or intrigues of nobles. Indeed, Barani (the celebrated 14th-century historian of the Delhi Sultanate) comes very close to describing monarchy as an institution unsanctioned by religion and existing outside, if not in spite, of it.

Anglo-Indian historians worked on the narratives of their Indian predecessors, but they began to insinuate increasingly that Medieval India

was under "Muslim Rule," that the Muslim Community was the ruling class, and that Muslim Polity was shaped by the ideas and superstitions of Islam. Elliot's summing up of the character of "Muslim Rule" in the Preface to his monumental *History of India* is well known; and it may further be reduced to this simple formula: Muslim rule was barbarous; and this was entirely due to Islam. V. A. Smith's *Oxford History* spelt out this view less explicitly, but no less effectively, through asides and reflections in the course of his well-known narrative.

Among Indian historians, various responses developed to this interpretation. Certain scholars, like Sir Jadunath Sarkar and S. R. Sharma, espoused it more or less; Muslim apologists accepted the basic premise, but denied the barbarity of Muslim rule; "nationalist" historians, like Professor Muhammad Habib and Tara Chand increasingly took the view that the actual role of religion in shaping policy and polity was extremely limited; and that often religious slogans were advanced, practically *post-facto*, in order to justify the measures the real aims behind which had nothing to do with religion.

It is not my intention to enter the lists on behalf of the scholars of any of these tendencies, though I confess, I personally find the last view more attractive than the others. My intention here is to raise what I believe to be a few basic issues concerning the nature and role of religious influences on medieval Indian polity, and to see what methods can be adopted to study and analyse them.

In the very first place, it is important to stress that Indian scholars have not made adequate use of the modern, scientific study of Islam and the Islamic civilization, that began with the German School. We are all beholden to Professor Khuda Bakhsh for his translations of some of the important writings of the German scholars, such as Wellhausen. But the results of these and more recent studies have not affected, to any noticeable degree, the studies of Islamic influences in India. That Islam, as a religion (i. e. its total body of faith, ritual and civil law), has grown historically like any other religious system, however much this may be unpalatable to the orthodox view; that the growth was by no means a simple process of degeneration, as conceived for so long by Muslim tradition; and, finally, that the "Islamic" societies were rent constantly by internal class and social conflicts,—all these conclusions seem established beyond reasonable doubt.

These points lend a new dimension to the study of Islamic influence on Indian polity. No longer can we simply take the *Shariat* as a fixed body of law, and ask to what extent it was applied by Muslim rulers, and, if parts of it were not applied, why not. On the other hand, we should rather ask, why Muslim rulers, or at any rate their learned courtiers, selected, stressed, distorted or elaborated some rules of the *Shariat*; and how, as a result, the aristocratic view, as divorced

from the textbook view, of the *Shariat* was modified. For example, we may ask why scholars began to treat certain popular sayings as *hadith*, and, therefore, gave them religious sanction. A notorious example is the saying that "The grave is one's best son-in-law," clearly designed to depreciate the daughter's position as an heir.¹ More to the point, for us, is the way in which the idea of racial birth and social station attained a place in the religious consciousness of Muslims—whether of Barani or Badauni or Shah Waliullah.

When we see such instances before us, we can perhaps appreciate, in a new context, Marx's famous dictum that "the religious world is the reflex of the real world."

In short, when we wish to see Islam as a force shaping or influencing polity, we must also study how far Islam itself (that is, as understood and viewed by the classes concerned) had undergone modifications under political and social factors; the very phenomena on which, in its modified form, it reacted in return.

If such is the case with Islam, would it not still equally, or even more, be the case with Hinduism? It may well be argued that "Hinduism" (not simply Brahmanism) as a distinct religion is as much the product of medieval circumstances as is its very name the product of alien usage. In the process of this transformation, along with the added stress on monotheism, a shift in the outlook on caste, the political institutions hitherto associated with Muslims were also gradually accepted and assimilated by Hindu rulers. The alliance of the Rajputs with the Mughals, therefore, probably roused the religious conscience of the former as little as it did that of the latter. Some Hindus even accepted innovations of political significance, and made them, for the time being at least, part of their religious ritual. The most striking case in point is the Mughal Emperors' rite of *Jharoka darshan*, unknown to ritual associated with any previous Hindu monarchy.

There is simultaneously another question to be studied: How vulnerable was the political structure to religious influences? In other words, the modern historian cannot simply accept the medieval chronicler's view that the king was the sole fountain-head of authority, and that his own religious views shaped everything. Professor Muhaminad Habib has very appropriately drawn attention to the various "pressure groups" in the Delhi Sultanate. It is imperative that the social composition, interests and extent of power, within the ruling class, should be studied. In this, particular distinction ought to be drawn between the king's bureaucracy (*muqtis, mansabdars*) and the local hereditary potentates (*zamindars*) between whom there was constantly a conflict of interest. The fact that the

¹ Quoted by Badauni as a *hadith*.

former were largely Muslims, and the latter largely upper-caste Hindus, must be considered when viewing the 'religious policies' of various rulers. Could it be that the class-conflict was sometimes quite naturally given the colouring of religious struggle, as Iqtidar Alam Khan has, for example, brought out in his article on Akbar's policy towards his nobility? Analysis from this point of view requires still further sophistication. We must find out the religious composition (in purely quantitative terms as far as possible) of the various elements within the ruling group, to determine the relationship between the professed religious policy and its actual implementation in the division of spoils. Such quantitative analysis is, perhaps, not possible for the Sultanate period; But it can certainly be attempted for the Mughal period, both in respect of *Mansabdars* and *zamindars*. In attempting and utilising such analysis, it is likely that the historian will find much help and illumination from the methods of Marx and Max Weber.

The impact of popular religious movements on a political system, that was not democratic, can be measured only with difficulty. Here, perhaps the great need, for our scholarship, is to move away from *clichés*, and establish, first, how popular in fact were these popular movements, to analyse the source material critically, and determine the social basis of these movements more precisely than has hitherto been done. It may not be sufficient, for example, to speak of the peasant-basis of Sikhism,¹ when the 17th century peasantry is likely to have been a class in a quite advanced stage of internal differentiation. It is, however, hardly to be denied that the Sikh power-structure was not the same as the Jat power-structure in the Braj areas, and the distinction might well derive either from the fact that the Sikhs included still lower strata of peasants among their ranks, or from the inherently democratic content of the religious ideology of the Sikhs, that the Jats conspicuously lacked. Studies on such matters are likely to be far more fruitful than mere generalisations about the 'social message' of the 'Bhakti cults.'

I have suggested above certain points that may be borne in mind while studying the interaction of religion and politics in medieval India. Quite obviously, conclusions cannot be stated before research enables us to provide answers to many of the questions posed here. But many of these questions themselves have arisen because of the work already done in the past. May I close by hoping that as our work is extended, we will be able to move further away from *a priori* generalities and towards a really dispassionate and meaningful analysis of this important subject?

(Paper presented at the Seminar on "Historical Models in the Study of Tradition and Change in India": The Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1969)

¹ Cf. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963, p. 344.

DECCAN, THE REGION OF COEXISTENCE AND INTEGRATION

H. K. SHERWANI

The Deccan

It is well known that the word Deccan or Dakkhan is derived from *Dakshina* or Right Hand, and originally indicated the region which was to the right hand of the original migrants into India through the north-western passes. An interesting derivative of the same root is *dakshina* or alms which are distributed with the right hand. The land facing these immigrants, towards which these moved, began to be called Aryavarta, while the Deccan gradually came to mean the land-mass south of the Vindhya Range with gaps both in the east and the west.

Geographically, the slope of the land-mass, north of the Vindhya, is eastwards, this rather abruptly changes its direction towards the west, and the two great rivers which virtually separate the Deccan from Aryavarta, the Narmada and the Tapti, flow to the west and fall into the Arabian Sea. South of the Penganga is the great tableland of the Deccan which is bounded on the west by the massif of the Western Ghats which rises abruptly in places to 4,000 feet protecting the coastal plains of the Konkan and the Desh, the original home of the valiant Maratha race. This height gradually recedes eastward till we come to the almost solitary eminence of the cliff round which the great fort of Golkonda was constructed and which stands like a sentinel about 450 feet from the ground level. From here to the Eastern Ghats the ground is nearly level, but with boulders piled one over the other, sometimes balanced on precipitate edges, and these are some of the most ancient rocks in whole of the world.

So much for the geographical characteristics of the northern limits of the Deccan. Geology helps us further to the enunciation of the boundaries of the Deccan. It is with the Ajanta range north-east of Aurangabad that the ancient undisturbed rock begins and continues as far south as the Nilgiris and the Palghat gap. The great plateau is partly covered by the ancient lava flow extending like a ten days' moon with one horn at Nagpur and other at Goa. Lava has disintegrated into the rich black cotton soil which is remarkable for its retention of moisture for long periods. This is in vivid contrast to the basins of the Godavari and the Krishna and its tributary the Tungabhadra, for here the rivers pass through fertile belts up to the borders of Tilangana. But once in that region, they irrigated an arid area strewn with decomposed rock which does not retain mois-

ture at all. Goa may be said to be the meeting place of the lava-capped plateau, for there it almost touches the crystalline southern section of the Western Ghats, and this may be regarded as the south-western extremity of Deccan proper. Beyond this crystalline belt which covers what was to form the core of the Empire of Vijayanagar, is "South India" with its distinct geological and geographical characteristics.

Cultural sangam

It is only natural that the region which is technically called the Deccan should be the meeting place of races, religions and cultures. Its width is decreased slowly but surely inviting migrants both from the ports of Arabian sea in the west and those of the Bay of Bengal in the east, while the gaps in the Vindhya and the Satpuras allow migrations from the north in spite of political inhibitions. There was hardly a migration of any magnitude from the south to the north as there was comparatively very little pressure of newcomers from beyond the seas as it was from beyond the north-western Himalayas. In fact, like the case of a newcomer in a second class railway compartment, those, who managed somehow to enter the south as traders, missionaries or conquerors, managed to have a common cause with the inhabitants in their endeavour to keep off fresh intruders as far as possible. This is really the secret of the spirit of accommodation, coexistence and integration in the south which has practically no counterpart in North India.

Asoka (c. 272-c. 232 B.C.)

If we were to put aside the great epic of the union of hearts between Sri Ramchandra and the denizens of South India led by Hanuman—a story of complete mutual understanding and near integration—we would find in Asoka's *ahimsa* and renunciation of war a unique humanitarian act. Asoka's expedition to Kalinga (257 B.C.) had cost nearly a lakh of lives apart from thousands and thousands of those who lost their lives in famine and disease. Asoka was touched to the quick at this terrible calamity inflicted by him on the people, and this resulted in the complete renunciation of war as a matter of state policy and the furtherance of *ahimsa*.

Khaljis and Tughluqs

The next significant stage in the racial contact and consequent understanding between two distinct social and cultural systems is visible towards the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century, when people, distinct in race, social customs and religious beliefs, invaded the Deccan under Alau'd-din Khalji (1296-1316) and later under Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-1351). It is not necessary to go into the details of these expeditions. But it should be remembered that Muslims had already penetrated South India in a peaceful manner very early in history. Even now,

if you go to the town of Cranganur near Cochin in the Kerala State, you will find a mosque reputed to have been constructed by Cheramen Perumal, who is said to have gone to Arabia and accepted Islam at the hands of the Prophet himself. He is said to have died on the way back home and willed that a piece of stone which he had brought from Medina be used in the foundations of a mosque to be constructed in his home town.¹

It is, therefore, no wonder that when Malik Kasur Hazardinari, the general of the Khaljis, penetrated the far south in 1310, he came across a goodly colony of the Muslims plying trade at Tiruchirapalli. Later when Ibn-i Baqūyah visited his father-in-law Jalalu'd-din Ahsan Shah of Ma'bar (1333-1338), he found a number of Muslim principalities and chieftainships spread over the south-west coast of India covering practically the whole of Kerala coast.²

Not only that, Ibn-i Baqūyah also writes in his famous travelogue, the *Rihlah*, that as many as twenty thousand Muslims had been enrolled as regular soldiers in the army of the Hoysala ruler Ballala III (1291-1342). No doubt, it was such close contact between the Muslims and the Hindus in the south leading to early cultural and social influences which the great African traveller perceived in the far South, and found a number of mosques in the outlying parts of the Kannada and the Malayali regions.³

This is as it should have been, for "Islam" means a religion of peace, and the clarion call contained in Surah CIX of the Qur'an "Unto you your religion and unto me mine" could not but lead to mutual accommodation.

Muslim Saints

A telling element in the evolution of the composite culture, which in South India became famous, was the establishment of the *Khanqahs* of Muslim saints even before the establishment of Muslim Kingdoms in the region. They had no arms except those of persuasion, no method except a call for humanitarianism and brotherhood of man which was the direct consequence of their belief in the Unity of God. Ibn-i Baqūyah mentions the *Khanqah* of Shaikh Muhammad Nagori, while the tomb of Baba Fakhru'd-din Hazrat Nathar Wali is still one of the places of pilgrimage at Tiruchirapalli, and the tomb of Baba Sharfu'd-din, who died in 1288, situated on a high

1 For the early Muslim Colonies in South India especially on the south-western coast of the Peninsula, see A. Cherian, *The Genesis of Islam in Malabar, Indica*, 1969; Ganeviéve Boucher, *Mamale de Cananor*, Paris, 1974, where a general survey of Muslims in south-west India would be found.

2 For the Sultanate of Ma'bar and the Muslim Colonies in the present Tamil Nadu, see S.A.Q. Husaini, *The History of the Pandya Country*, Madras 1962; Ibn Batutah, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, translated by Sir Hamilton Gibb, London, 1969.

3 Mahmud Khan Mahmud, *Tarikh-i Junubi Hind*, pp. 50-59.

hill six miles from the city of Hyderabad, is thronged both by the Hindus and Muslims.¹

The Southern Kingdoms

It was about this time that a triune revolution threw off the yoke of the Delhi Sultans in South India and created three distinct states, the state of Ma'bar with its centre at Madurai² (1335), the state of Vijayanagar (1336) and the Bahmani state with its capital first at Gulbarga (1347) and then at Bidar (1424).³ The State of Ma'bar was soon swallowed up by Vijayanagar, which was destined to face the Bahmani Kingdom and the Bahmani Succession States until its final disappearance in the middle of the seventeenth century. We should remember that while the two Kingdoms were at daggers drawn as far as politics were concerned, they continued to influence each other in cultural matters. It is also to be noted that, although the *Rayas* of Vijayanagar were Hindus by religion and the Bahmanis were Muslim, their antagonism was not essentially communalistic but political; its core was the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab which had been the bone of contention between the Chalukyas, the Cholas, the Andhras and the Pallavas for centuries. All these powers realised the importance of this Doab which was like a strong fortress, and once a northern or southern power controlled it, there was nothing to prevent it from marching into enemy territory.

In spite of this iron curtain, it is remarkable that the Doab formed by these two great rivers never stood in the path of cultural accommodation; on the contrary it has served as a bridge over which cultures passed from north to south and south to north. The well-known story of Parthal, the daughter of a goldsmith of Mudgal, then a part of the Bahmani Kingdom, is a case in point. When young Devaraya of Vijayanagar (1406-1422) heard of the beauty and accomplishments of the girl, he was infatuated with her. But she refused to accompany the Brahman who had been sent to fetch her to Vijayanagar on some pretext or other. Devaraya was furious and he invaded the Doab. Firoz Shah Bahmani (1397-1422) sidetracked him, and crossing the Tungabhadra actually reached Devaraya's capital. The Raya was defeated in the battle which ensued and finally agreed to marry his own daughter to Firoz. What is remarkable is that when Firoz rode to the Raya's palace from his camp, 21 miles away (near where Hospet Railway Station now stands), the countryside became full of shops of Hindus and Muslims who plied their ware side by side, and the Sultan was actually the Raja's guest for three days as his son-in-law. On return-

1 For the spreading of Sufism in the Deccan see K.A. Nizami, "Sufi Movement in the Deccan," *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. II, ch. 2.

2 For the State of Ma'bar, see, *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. I, ch. 3.

3 H.K. Sherwani, *The Bahamanis of the Deccan—an objective Study*, 1952.

ning to his camp he sent for Parthal who was then married to the heir to the Bahmani throne, Hasan Khan.¹

This was no doubt the first full-dress contact of the two cultures, but instances of such a contact are seen almost from the very foundations of the two Kingdoms. Hindu influence is visible on the western wall of the tomb of Sultan Ghiyathu'd-din Tahamtan (1397) in the Haft Gumbad ensemble at Gulbarga, while Firoz's "double" tomb depicts the dovetailing of the Iranian, Hindu and Tughluq styles of architecture. Such an influence of the Hindu style is so patent also in the tomb of Hazrat Gesu Daraz of Gulbarga (died, 1422) that certain squint-eyed so-called research workers have tried to dub it as being originally a Hindu temple, thus totally ignoring cultural understanding and synthesis in South India.²

On the other hand, if we were to drive from Hospet Station to Vijayanagar, we would find Bahmani arches on structures on both the sides of the twenty-one mile road, and the Queen's Baths, Dhannaik's Enclosure, Guards' Quarters, Lotus Mahal and the so-called Elephant Stables all make one wonder whether he is not surveying the ruins of a Bahmani city. But soon he faces the great unequalled temples with which these ruins are replete. The city was under the occupation of the 'Adil Shahis of Bijapur for many decades after the fall of the southern Empire (1650), and evidently these temples were not touched by the new masters of this region. Moreover, the continuance of Hindu pilgrim centres at Nasik and Trimbak right through the sway of the Bahmanis and Bahmani Succession States show the sense of accommodation on the part of the Bahmani Sultans and their ministers.³ It is said that out of twelve Jyotirlingas five were situated within the Bahmani Kingdom. The complete understanding and a sense of cultural integration is seen in the joint Hindu-Muslim throngs at the 'urs ceremonies of Hazrat Siraju'd-din Junaidi and Hazrat Gesu Daraz at Gulbarga, and Hazrat 'Alau'd-din Ansari at Aland, and it is known fact that the 'urs of the saint of Gulbarga as well as that of Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani at Bidar start off with a huge bouquet of flowers ('Jhela Mubarak') carried to the top of the dome by rope ladders and held jointly by a Hindu and a Muslim.⁴

Dakhnis and Afaqis

The Bahmani State was composed of four main cultural groups: the

1 For the Story of Parthal and the events which followed, see *Bahmanis*, pp. 159-62.

2 For the Haft Gumbad complex see *Bahmanis*, p. 117; Z.A. Desai, Bahmani Architecture, *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. I, ch. IV(i).

3 Great temples at Vijayanagar, R. Subrahmanyam, "Vijayanagar Architecture," *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. II, ch. IV(iv)

4 For the 'Urs of the Saint of Gulbarga, see Yazdani, *Bidar, its History and Monuments*, *Bahmanis*, 194.

Hindu element with its perennial caste system, the original migrants from the north who had accompanied the Khalji and Tughluq armies and began to call themselves "Dakhnis" *par excellence*, the Habashi immigrants who came to the Deccan from Africa, direct from Ethiopia or via Arabia and who allied themselves with the Dakhnis, and finally Asaquis or New-comers who migrated to the Deccan from Iran, Arabia, 'Iraq, Khurasan and other neighbouring lands. There was a constant rift between the "Asaquis" and the "Dakhnis" due not merely to their social habits but also because the former were mostly Sunnis while a large percentage of the latter were 'Shi'ah. There are two things which are remarkable; one is that there was a complete understanding between the Dakhnis and the Habashis and secondly that there is hardly any instance of the conversion of Hindus into the Islamic fold right through the Bahmani period.

Bijapur

The five Bahmani Succession States soon dwindled into two, viz. Bijapur and Tilang, sometimes called Golkonda after its first capital. Bijapur, which is only a district of Karnataka State today, became the harbinger of a cultural synthesis and integration leading to influence and grand living. The peculiar style of architecture with medium-sized dome on a high drum, a profusion of lotus leaves so large that they almost envelope the base of the domes, and protruding *chhajjas*, show the extent to which art had become synthesised in the Kingdom. There we find Hindu high officials perhaps the best known of whom was Shahji, the father of Shivaji. The name, Shahji, has a story to tell. Shivaji's grandfather Maloji was childless. There was a Muslim saint Hazrat Shah Sharif with his *Khanqah* situated nearby. Maloji went to ask him to pray the Almighty that he be blessed with an issue. The saint prayed and Maloji was blessed not with one but two children, one of whom he named Shahji and the other Sharifji after the Muslim saint.¹ Shahji (c. 1602-1664) was the ancestor of the Shivaji *kul*. In the matter of languages also, Bijapur showed the way to all the States of the future. The mother-tongue of the founder of the 'Adil Shahi Dynasty, Yusuf, was Turki by race, but he was well up in Persian as well. His son and successor, Isma'il (1510-1534) was born and bred in India and, apart from the Turki and the Persian languages, was at home in "Hindawi" as well. Marathi was the language of a large part of the 'Adil Shahi Kingdom, and it was about this time that it came to be influenced by Persian, while on the other side the Hindawi or Dakhni forced its way to become the language of the people as well as of the Court. It was during the reign of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (1580-1627) that Dakhni

1 See Kulkarni "The Marathas," *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 554, where a reference is made to *Shivabarat*, I, 90.

or "Hindawi" became one of the languages of the Court.

From the point of view of communal understanding, 'Ali 'Adil Shah's reign (1656-1678) may be regarded as a pointer for the future. He was a contemporary of the Emperor Akbar, and one may perceive quite a few traits common to both. 'Ali allowed free exchange of views between Hindu and Muslim theologians and doctors of religion and even invited Catholic priests from Goa to take part in religious discussions. The Sultan was a bibliophil and we find a Sanskrit expert *Waman Pandit* among the directors of his vast library.¹

Ali's nephew and successor, Ibrahim II's rule was remarkable in various ways, but his own composition, *Nauras Nama*, was perhaps the most remarkable as being the literary rendezvous of the different cultures of his Kingdom. It is a book containing Hindi songs composed by the Sultan himself.² What is even more remarkable is that many of these songs are preceded by an invocation to certain Hindu gods and goddesses such as Sarasvati and Ganesa. Not that Ibrahim deviated an iota from Islam which he declares to be his religion. When he died he was buried in the tomb he had constructed himself with a profusion of Qura'nic verses cut into stone facing a large mosque of the same pattern opposite.

The Sultans of Bijapur realised very early in their history that the Kingdom was multi-racial and polyglot and that they had to rely on the Maratha chiefs much in the same way as the Mughals relied on Rajput chiefs. Thus, when the Bangalore region came under the sway of Bijapur in 1638, the Sultan appointed Shahji to be the Governor of newly-conquered territories, and he was succeeded in the high office by his son Vyankoji. Even today if one goes to Tanjavur and sees the great palace of Vyankoji, one would perhaps be deluded for an instant whether the palace is not the residence of a Bijapur official with all the trappings of its architecture present in Bijapur palaces.³

Tilang (Golkonda-Haidarabad)

The last surviving Bahmani Succession State was Tilang with its capital at Golkonda which was replaced by the newly founded city of Haidarabad in 1592-1593. The founder of the dynasty which ruled the region right up to June 1687 was Sultan-Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk (murdered, 1543) who came

1 P.M. Joshi, "Ali 'Adil Shah of Bijapur and his royal Librarian," *Sardhasatabdi Commemoration Volume*, JBBRAS, p. 97.

2 *Kitab-i-Nauras*, edited by Nazir Ahmad, Bharatiya Kala Kendra, New Delhi, 1956. It is rather remarkable that the language of the book is Sanskritised Hindi while the script is *naskh* and this is made to answer all the sounds of the language.

3 Indo-Persian influence is patent in Sarswati Mahal Palace at Tanjavur as well as in practically all civil buildings at Vijayanagar, Penukonda and chandragiri, for which see *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. II, Plates, LII-LVIII.

as an adventurer and ultimately became the ruler of practically the whole of the region, inhabited by the Andhra race. His rule, and the rule of his successors was marked by a sense of perfect confidence in the non-Muslim population of the region. The way was shown by Sultan-Quli himself by his appointment of Ramaraj as the officer-in-charge of certain tracts of the Vijayanagar Kingdom which he had conquered. This was the same Ramaraj who defected to Vijayanagar and was finally defeated by the League of the four Sultans at Bannihatti in January 1565.¹

Sultan-Quli was succeeded by Jamshid (1543-1550), in whose reign the affairs of state were under the control of "Rai A'zam" Jagadeva Rao. Jagadeva Rao increased his power and authority till he became a virtual king-maker and it was he who proclaimed Ibrahim King of Tilang in 1550 on his return from his self-imposed exile at Vijayanagar. Ibrahim was only 12 when he had fled to Vijayanagar on his father's murder and spent eight years of his impressionable age there.² It is no wonder that Telugu became almost his second mother-tongue and on his succession to the throne he became so much enamoured of that language that he made his Court the meeting place of Telugu writers and poets of note. His name was even Teluguised as *Malkibrahma* and when he died, a Telugu poet addressed Brahma thus: 'O Prabhu, thou has called to thy bosom a man like Malkibrahma, although there were hundreds of others whom thou could have killed, but a one like thou cannot recreate.'³

Fusion of Cultures

Side by side with the patronage of Telugu, a new idiom, that of Dakhni, was showing itself above the cultural horizon of the State and had already reached its apex during the reign of Ibrahim, and his son and successor Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612). The language, which Muhammad-Quli uses in his voluminous *Kulliyat* or poetical works, shows a visible dove tailing of Perso-Arabic and Prakritic words with a flavouring of Telugu, and this has been made in such a way that the Urduites consider the work to belong to the history of their language while the Hindi consider it as their very own.⁴ If there ever was a visible co-ordination and even integration between the linguistic patterns in India, it was in the Deccan of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah.

A striking feature of the cohesion of cultures about this period is the prevalence of Muharram folk songs in Telugu among the general non-Muslim

1 Ramaraj, Sultan-Quli's Lieutenant, see Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, p. 82; battle of Bannihatti wrongly called battle of Talikota, *ibid.*, pp. 137-55.

2 Jagadeva Rao as king-maker, *ibid.*, pp. 101-104.

3 Telugu under Ibrahim Qutb Shah, *ibid.*, pp. 180 ff.

4 Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah's voluminous *Kulliyat*, edited by the late Zore, Hyderabad, 1939-1940.

populace of the Andhra region. While these songs have their base in the events leading to Imam Husain's martyrdom at Karbala in 61/680, the superstructure is Deccani, and it is this characteristic which has made these songs sung by the people who know nothing about the historical episode. The farmer while tilling his land, the grinder while grinding his corn, the potter while shaping his ware even now chant these Telugu songs just as they were sung in the Qutb Shahi period.¹

The complete harmony of the two great sections of the population was reached during the reign of the last Qutb Shahi monarch, Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah (1672-1687). His Peshwa or Prime Minister was a Brahman of Warangal, Madanna.² Akkanna was his commander-in-chief, who later became the Qutb Shahi Resident at Bijapur. The governor of Poonamallee near Madras who kept a strict watch on the doings of the English, was Madanna's relative Lingappa, while Gopanna, alias Ramadas, was the district officer of Bhadrachalam where he caused a magnificent temple to be built out of the royal revenue he collected. It is related that when Vishnu Narayana Hanumante visited Haidarabad to prepare the ground for Shivaji's visit, he had a fairly long audience of the Sultan and the language in which he conversed with him was chaste Persian.³

Thus while Indo-Persian culture was having its mark on the native culture of the people under the Qutb Shahis, there was a definite mutual influence exercised by the Telugu speaking population on the culture and administration of the land.

The Asaf Jahis (1724-1948)

Bijapur in 1686 and Golkonda in 1687 were brought under the direct control of the Mughals whose empire now extended right up to Bangalore and beyond. After a struggle, Nizamu'l-Mulk Asaf Jah I was able to acquire the governorate of the Deccan after his signal victory at Shakarkhera (Berar) in 1724. He now began to put some kind of order into the parts of the effete Mughal empire which had come under his sway. From the very beginning he realised that without an alliance with the Marathas, who had fought against Aurangzeb for a quarter of a century, it would not be possible to keep the vast territory under his sway. He, therefore, allied himself with Sambhaji of Kolhapur and admitted many prominent Marathas in his service, perhaps the most renowned of whom was Rao

1 Muharram folk songs: Tamati Donappa "Muharram Gitikulu;" *Bharati*, Madras, September, 1941.

2 Madanna's supremacy, 'Sherwani, op. cit., pp. 626 ff.

3 K. Aiyangar, "Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and his Ministers, Madanna and Akkanna," Journal of Indian History, August 1941, pp. 103 ff. Also see *Shivdigvijaya Bhakar* referred to by Kincaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, p. 254.

Rambha Nimbalkar.¹ With the conquest of the Deccan by the Mughals, the cultural frontiers which separate north and south were obliterated, and literature, social customs, dress and administration began to have the imprint of Mughal influence. Asaf Jah I continued the idea of taking non-Muslims with him in every walk of life, and during the two hundred years of Asaf Jahi rule this principle was never lost sight of. An era of perfect understanding and cohesion was inherited by the rulers of the Deccan from Asaf Jah I (died 1748). Salabat Jang (1751-1761) appointed Raghunath Das as his prime minister. The rule of Nizam 'Ali Khan Asaf Jah II (1761-1803) saw the administration of a Hindu minister, Pratap Vant, and he was succeeded by the Shi'ah, Mir Musa Khan Ruknu'd-Daulah who appointed a Hindu Tota Ram as his chief secretary. Nawab Sikandar Jah (1803-1829) appointed Mahipat Ram as his *Peshkar* and after Mahipat Ram's rebellion, his place was taken by Raja Govind Bakhsh.

It is interesting to note that right from Sikandar Jah up to the end of the Asaf Jahi rule, the prime ministers of Haidarabad were Hindus or even if they were Muslims their *peshkars* were almost invariably Hindus. Thus when Mir 'Alam was prime minister, his *peshkar* was Raja Chandulal who later on himself became prime minister, and the century saw Raja Ram Bakhsh, Raja Ganesh Rao and Maharaja Kishan Parshad at the helm of affairs.²

In the same way, while successive Nizams belonged to Sunni persuasion, there was no differentiation between a Sunni and a Shi'ah in administration. From the time of the premiership of Ruknu'd-Daulah Mir Musa Khan up to Yusuf 'Ali Khan Salar Jang III, quite a number of prime ministers of Haidarabad were Shi'ah. In more recent times, the Heads of Government, Sir 'Ali Imam, Sir Akbar Hydari and Sir Mirza Isma'il all belonged to the Shi'ah persuasion. Sir Akbar Hydari's term of office was one of a great progress of the State, and it was when he was the Home Secretary that he drew up the comprehensive scheme of the Osmania University with an Indian language, Urdu, as medium of instruction right up to the highest level. As finance minister and later as the prime minister of Haidarabad, he laid the solid foundations of the State finances, opened the purse-strings of the State for the promotion of projects of the people's welfare and attempted to eradicate the curse of communalism from college and university textbooks by setting up a strong committee for the

1 For Nizamu'l-Mulk's close relations with Rao Rambha Nimbalkar and other Maratha leaders see Yousuf Husain Khan, *Nizamu'l-Mulk Asaf Jah*, I, ch. VII, Rao Rambha made Haidarabad his home, and his mansion called "Rao Rambha Ki Deorhi," still exists. See also A.R. Kulkarni, "The Marathas" in the *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 590.

2 For the succession of Hindu ministers under the Asaf Jahs see Sherwani, *Dakhni Culture*, Delhi, 1971, pp. 52-54.

"decommunalisation" of history textbooks.¹

Urdu

It should be remembered that the foundation of the Osmania University was itself the result of a long period of the promotion of Urdu in the Deccan by both Hindus and Muslims. Asaf Jah Nizamu'l-Mulk I brought with him from Delhi to Aurangabad a large number of Urdu litterateurs, and when his son Nawab Mir Nizam 'Ali Khan Asaf Jah II changed his capital from Aurangabad to Haidarabad, quite a large number of them made Haidarabad their home. One of them was Tajalli 'Ali Shah who did good service to the field of learning by compiling *Tozuk-i Asafiyah*. Lala Mansa Ram was the *peshkar* of Asaf Jah I, and was a man of great importance in administration. But his son Lachmi Narayan Shafiq surpassed his father in many respects. He was a great scholar of Persian and Urdu, and his book *Chamanistan-i Shu'ara* has got a permanent place in literature. Perhaps the most prominent name among the Hindu poets of the early nineteenth century is that of Maharaja Chandu Lal 'Shadan' whose palace was always full of Urdu and Persian poets of distinction. One of his chamberlains, Raja Makkhan Lal translated Omar Khayyam's quatrains into Urdu, while Hem Chand translated Firdausi's *Shah Nama* into Urdu. Among those Hindus of the Deccan, who enriched Urdu literature, may be mentioned Rai Gulab Chand *Hamdam*, Rai Bala Parshad *Rabt*, Raja Gir-dharilal *Mahboob*, Nawaz Want *Baqi*, Raja Sital Parshad '*Azm*' and Biharilal *Ramz*, while those who flourished during the memory of the writer were Raja Narsing Raj 'Ali, Raja Mahboob Rai *Mahboob*, and Raja Karan Parshad *Karan*. But perhaps the most prominent name among the Hindu litterateurs of modern Deccan is that of Maharaja Kishan Parshad who served the cause of Urdu literature by his prose, his poetry, his letters and other branches of literature, such as few others have done. The late Nizam, His Exalted Highness Nawab Mir Osman 'Ali Khan, had also got together round him a whole circle of Urdu poets of whom Fasahat Jang *Jalil* and Akhtar Yar Jang's names come automatically to one's mind. Akhtar Yar Jang was the son of the famous Urdu poet Amir Minai, who is buried in Haidarabad almost side by side with another great Urdu poet, Fasihu'l-Mulk *Dagh*.²

Osmania University

It was in 1917 that the late Nizam, Nawab Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan sanctioned the scheme of the Osmania University which was to impart instruction in Urdu, both in Arts and Sciences right up to the highest

1 For the Committee for "the Decommunalisation of History" see Sherwani "Sir Akbar Hydari" in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Culcutta, 1974.

2 Nasiruddin Hashmi, *Dakan men Urdu*, Lucknow, 1960. pp. 747 ff.

level. The *Farman* of the Nizam may well be regarded as a red-letter-day for the future of Indian languages. The new University was to be the first to impart knowledge in an Indian language, and English was to be taught merely as a language along with other languages. It was at the Osmania that Hindu and Muslim professors were seen teaching in Urdu on all branches of Science, Arts and languages, classical and modern. Everything was both taught and learned with avidity, and our students, who had their education in Urdu, made a mark in other sister universities both in India and abroad. But all this is now past history, and it merely creates a nostalgic feeling in the minds of those who were privileged to work in that atmosphere of coexistence verging on integration.¹

1 For the early history of the Osmania University, see Sherwani, "The Osmania University," First Phase; The Urdu Medium, *Dr. Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume*, pp. 237 ff. The number of students attending classes in 1947 when the medium of instruction was changed from Urdu to English was: Arts, 2803; Science, 2688; Commerce, 102; Engineering, 330; Medicine, 351; Agriculture, 110; Veterinary Science, 55; Education, 58; Law, 472; Religion and Culture, 64.

DOCUMENTS

A NEWLY DISCOVERED INSCRIPTION OF AKBAR'S REIGN FROM FATEHPUR

JAMAL MOHAMMAD SIDDIQI

FATEHPUR is the head-quarters of the district of the same name in Uttar Pradesh. It is situated (latitude 25°-55'-18" North, and longitude 80°-52' East) in the Doab, 42 miles south-east of Kanpur. The town is said to have been founded by Fathmand Khān in 1519.¹ The *A'in-i Akbarī* (1595) records it as a *mahāl* of the *sarkār* of Karah Gharbi (Western Karah), under the name of Fatḥpūr-Haswa.² The town of Haswa is situated seven miles south east of Fatehpur, the two names being usually joined together as Fatehpur-Hanswa.

Some three miles from the Fatehpur railway station, stands the shrine of Hazrat Mir Saiyad Śālih in the *mohallah* (quarters) of Mahajir. As the entire tomb is built of stone, it is locally known as *Patharia Mahal*. The monument itself has some architectural pretensions and recalls to our mind the early Akbari architecture. With a Plinth 5' high, it stands on a small mound, from which pottery of the early historical period may be picked up. I saw such pottery fragments in a cutting of the mound.

The superstructure of the tomb rests on twelve pillars, each made of a single block of quartzite, measuring 6' × 15" × 15". With the help of pendants the square has been converted into an octagon and then into a hexagon, over which stands a plain semi-spherical dome surmounted with an inverted lotus and a tall pinnacle. The low battlements and the octagonal drum of the dome is ornamented with simple geometrical designs. On every angle of the drum, stands a small turret. The openings of the tomb are made in corbelled fashion, supported by small brackets. The drooping eves, supported by pendants, are of the medium size.

The interior circumference of the dome at its springing point is 36', with a diameter of 11.4'. The tomb at its base measures 18' on each sides. The total height of the tomb including pinnacle from the floor

¹ Fuhrer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of N. W. P. and Oudh, Allahabad*, 1875, Vol. II, p. 159; J. P. Hewett, *Statistical Descriptive and Historical Account of N. W. P. of India*, Vol. VIII, Part III, Allahabad, 1884, p. 110.

² Abul Fazl, *A'in-i Akbarī*, (Blochmann's edition), Vol. II, Bib. Indica, pp. 349, 431.

level is approximately 30'. The superstructure dominates the lower structure. The monument suffers badly from lack of balance and harmony.¹

Use of quartzite dominates the building. Occasionally red sandstone is also found. The stone material used might have been brought from the vicinity of Chunar, approachable down the Ganga, which flows past 11 miles north-east of Fatehpur.

The tomb which is without any enclosure, contains seven graves, two in the first row and five in the second. The single grave of white marble is perhaps that of the saint. The inscription is placed around the interior circumference of the dome, just above the springing of dome at a height of 15' from the floor level.² The text is distributed in 18 panels of different lengths. The width of each is uniformly 10 cms., while there are four lengths, viz. 43, 47, 56 and 86 cms., each panel having one or the other of these lengths. The headline or the first line of the inscription has two panels, while the second line which covers the entire circumference of the dome is distributed in 16 independent panels. There is a small low niche below every panel.

The inscription records the year of the death of Ḩazrat Saiyad Mīr Sāliḥ as 993 A.H. (A.D. 1585), and gives the date of the completion of the construction of the tomb in the month of Ramzān of 1001 A.H. (June, A.D. 1593). Akbar is described as the reigning Emperor, and the construction is said to have been completed during the '*amal* (term of office) of Shaikh Ismā‘il, resident of Samana.³ The inscription which eulogizes the mystic qualities and accomplishments of the saint in customary fashion was written by one Niyāz.

Neither the tomb nor the inscription has been noticed by Fuhrer, J. D. Hewett, and Nevill. The identity of neither Saiyad Sāliḥ nor Shaikh Ismā‘il can be established in the contemporary or later sources. There is no reference to the saint in the Tabaqāt-i Shāhjahāni⁴ of Ṣādiq Khān and Bahr-i Zakhkhār⁵ of Wajihuddīn Ashraf, a biographical dictionary of the saints, written in 1790.

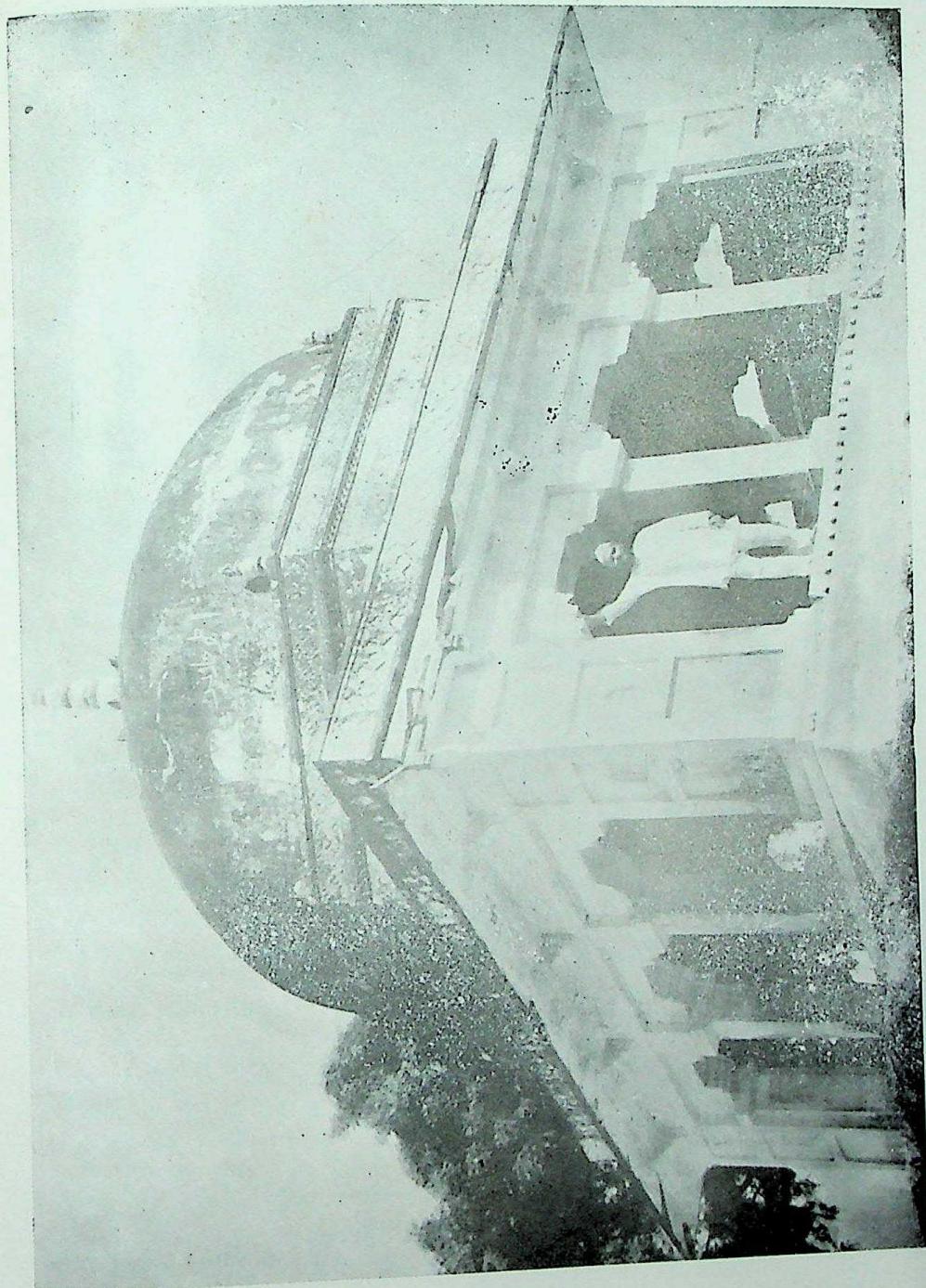
1 For a general view of the tomb, see accompanying photograph.

2 I am greatly indebted to Mohd. Moshin of Fatehpur for his active help and assistance in preparing the estampage of the inscription. I am also thankful to Messers, Shamim Ahmad, Tahir Javed and Hafiz Muhammad Tahir for their co-operation.

3 Samana (lat. 30°9' N, long. 76°15' E) is situated 17 miles south-west of Patiala in Bhawanigarh Tahsil of District Patiala of the Punjab.

4 MS. Habibganj Collection, Farsiya, 22/46 (Two volumes) and University Farsiya Akhbār, No. 226, in the Maulana Azad Library, A. M. U., Aligarh. See, C. A. Storey, Vol. I, Part II, p. 1171.

5 MS. in the personal collection of Maulana Raza Ansari Firangmahli, two volumes. See, C. A. Storey, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 1031-32.



TOMB OF HAZRAT MIR SAYYID SALIH

Shaikh Ismā'īl who seems to be some official of Akbar at Fatehpur, is not to be found among the *manṣabdārs* listed by the Ā'in-i Akbarī. He does not seem to be a *jāgirdār*, as *jāgirdārs* and even petty *manṣabdārs* normally had the epithet of *banda-i' Dargāh* (servant of the royal court) or the like, put before their names in documents and inscriptions. Under the circumstances, it may be fair to infer that Shaikh Ismā'īl was a revenue official and in 1593, was posted at Fatehpur. He was probably a *karori*, or Revenue Collector of the *khāliṣa*, for had he been a *jagirdār*'s agent, one would have expected his master's name to have also been recorded. It is of interest to note that though he was a resident of Samana, he was posted at Fatehpur.

On every 3rd Ramzān the 'Urs (Anniversary ceremony) of Mir Šālih is celebrated. Ramzān (1001 A.H.) has been given as the month of the completion of the construction of the tomb, while the inscription does not give the month of the saint's death, but simply records the year of 993 A. H. I enquired from the *Mutawalli* of the shrine, Hafiz Mohd. Tahir, son of Munshi Mohd. Ishaq Ansari, the reason for the celebration of the 'Urs in the month of Ramzān. In his answer he merely pointed out to me the word Ramzān in the inscription. It seems that the 'Urs has been introduced lately, and there was previously no such tradition.

The 'Urs of the saint is celebrated in an interesting manner, locally known as *pania bharan* (filling of water). On the morning of 3rd Ramzān, people assemble near the shrine and set out on foot in the form of a procession to a well near Imalia Bagh, at a distance of about three furlongs from the shrine. They fill their small pitchers and *lotas* (spouted pots) with the water from the well which is regarded as auspicious, and after covering it with green leaves, come back to the shrine, with the *qawwals* reciting. They wash the graves and floor of the tomb with the water brought by them. They put the water again in their pots and consider it to be efficacious. It is used in cooking *kheer* (a sweet preparation of rice and milk) in the evening for distribution. The relationship of the well and *kheer* with the life of Hazrat Mir Saiyad Šālih could not be ascertained.

The inscription is engraved in bold relief and written in pleasing *Nast'aliq* characters, except the two panels of the first line and the first three panels of the second line, which are in Persian prose of *Naskh* characters. The rest comprising of 13 panels are written in mediocre Persian poetry. The portion of the inscription engraved on red sandstone panels has flaked off while that on the quartzite is well preserved. The text of the chronogram for the death of the saint and for the construction of the tomb in panels 12 and 16 have peeled off and can not be restored.

I now give the text of the inscription as read by me.

نوفت حضرت میر سید صالح فی

(۱) (۱)

سنہ شلث و تسعین و لشعا یہ ۹۹۳

(۲) (۲)

II

(۱) تعمیر اس گنبد در عهد بندگان حضرت خلافت نای
(۲) جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ غازی خلد اللہ ملکہ
(۳) و در عمل مشیخت مابی بشیخ اسماعیل ساکن سماںہ دردرہ
رمضان المبارک سن احمدی والف با تمام رسالہ حمدہ

(۴) بحر عرفان و سالکی مذوب معدن علم و صوفی بصفا

(۵) مرشدی با کمال خر جملہ عرفا

(۶) شیلی وقت امیر صالح آنکہ در خلد و ملائی بخدا

(۷) حق مشغول رسید پیک قضا

(۸) عقبنی

(۹) حضرت حضرت شدہ از رحلتیش چہاں تاریک گویا کنشہ مخفف بیضا

(۱۰) بہر تاریخ رحلتیش چوں من کردم از شہ عقل خود گویا

(۱۱) زار نالید و کف از شہ (۱۲)

(۱۳) (۱۴) گنبدی نے کہ بست قبہ نور شدہ از سر مر فرش سدا

(۱۵) ای ایں چنیں گنبدی عدیم المثل بست پیدا میاں اڑو شما

(۱۶) جستیم از عقل سال تعمیرش وہ دیگر (۱۷)

I

- (1) The death of Hazrat Mīr Saiyad Ṣāliḥ, in
 (2) the year nine hundred and ninety three, 993.

II

- (1) This domed building was erected during the reign of the Emperor,
 (2) Refuge of the caliphate, Jalāluddin Muḥammad Akbar Ghāzī, May Allah perpetuate his Rule,
 (3) And it was completed during the term of the honoured Shaikh,¹ Shaikh Ismā'īl, resident of Samana, in the auspicious month of the Ramzan of the year one thousand and one (= June, 1593) (and). Written by Niyāz.
 (4)Leader of the (Devotees)
 (5) An ocean of knowledge (of God) and an absorbed (*majzūb*) devotee, mine of knowledge, and a pure *sūfi* (saint).
 (6) A perfect guide.....a Mystic, the pride of all the mystics.
 (7) The Shibli² of his time, Amir³ Ṣāliḥ, who stayed with God in private as well as when with company.
 (8) Was....occupied in the remembrance of God when.....the messenger of death reached (him).
 (9)the life to come.
 (10) The world became dark due to his departure. You may say, some of the brilliance (of the community)⁴ was lost.
 (11) When I sought from my intellect (the words to represent) the date of his death,
 (12) (it) wept bitterly and said, from.....
 (13)is elevated.
 (14) This is not a dome, but a cupola of light, came into being for his (saint's) grave.
 (15) Such an incomparable dome as this exists no-where between the earth and the sky.
 (16) I sought from my Intellect (the words for) the year of its construction, Ten.....high.

1 *Mashīkhāt Panāh*, (asylum of Shaikh), was a polite way of designating a Shaikhzāda or Indian Muslim (not a Saiyad). *Sayādat-Panāh* was a similar honorific for a Saiyad.

2 Abu Bakr Shibli, the renowned saint of Iraq.

3 Amir does not denote here a noble, but stands simply for Mīr which is commonly used for a Saiyad.

4 Muslim community is also called *Millat-i Baizā*.

IMPERIAL FIRMANS RELATING TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TAJ MAHAL

R. NATH

Or late, the origin of the *Rauza-i Munavvara* or the *Rauza-i Mumtāz Mahal*, later called the Taj Mahal, has been disputed on dubious grounds. However, the challenge calls for a careful scrutiny of the contemporary documents. Interpretative analysis will follow the documentary evidence which is presently summarised under the following four heads.

(a) *Persian Histories*

At least, two major historians of the time of Shah Jahan, viz. Abdul Hamid Lahauri and Muhammad Salih Kambo, have left specific references to the construction of the Taj Mahal. The former's description is vivid and elaborate.¹ He notes that a piece of land was selected for Mumtaz Mahal's burial by the river-side. This land originally belonged to Raja Mansingh of Ambar and was then owned by his grandson Raja Jaisingh. Other splendid houses (*a'ālī manzil*) from the Crownlands (Khalsah) were given to him in its exchange.

The Emperor desired that a wonderful structure with a high dome be raised over her remains, it be strong and stable in accordance with the Imperial grandeur. The foundations of the tomb were laid in the beginning of the fifth year of accession on the bank of the river Jamuna. It is explicitly stated by Lahauri that *beldārs* who had strong hands were employed.... Various stones were laid in and the walls were raised from the very foundations; the foundations were then brought to the ground level; five lacs of rupees were spent only in laying the foundation of the tomb of Mumtaj Mahal on that land.

Muhammad Salih Kambo confirms these statements: There was a suitable piece of land (*zamīn*) on the east side of the city of Akbarabad (Agra) on the bank of the river Jamuna; it had belonged to Raja Mansingh. It was selected for the tomb and the King gave in exchange good house to his grandson Raja Jaisingh; the body was laid into the grave on this piece of land.

Foundations of a grand tomb, which was intended to be unique building on earth, were laid in that piece of land; a beautiful garden with canals

¹ *Badshahnama*, Vol. I (Bib. Ind., Calcutta 1866-1868) pp. 388-403, Vol. II, pp. 322-26.

resembling those of Paradise was planned to ornament it; foundation of a mosque was laid on one side while on the other a *mehmankhana* (guest-house) was to be erected.

Neither of these two narratives is eulogical. What we have is a pure and simple chronicler's narrative of the contemporary events. There does not seem to be any reason to challenge the veracity of these contemporary statements.

(b) *Accounts of Foreign Travellers*

Among the positive documents which throw valuable light on the erection of the Taj Mahal are the contemporary accounts of the foreign travellers who visited Agra during this time. They had no motive to conceal or suppress any information of this nature and wrote their travelogues in absolute freedom.

Peter Mundy, the English traveller, was at Agra in 1631-1632 and recorded his observation of the construction of the Taj Mahal as follows:

This Kinge (Shah Jahan) is now buildinge a Sepulchre for his late deceased Queene Tage Moholl (Taj Mahal)... whome hee dearely affected.... He intends it shall excel all other. The place appoynted (is) by the river-side where shee is buried brought from Brampore (Burhanpur) where shee dyed.... The buildinge is begun and goes on with excessive labour and cost prosecuted with extraordinary diligence, Gold and Silver esteemed comon Mettall and Marble but as ordinarie stones.¹

J. B. Tavernier was a French jeweller who first resided at Agra in 1640-1641 and last in 1665. He keenly watched the court affairs of which he has left a vivid description. He noted:

The tomb of this Begam or Sultan Queen (Mumtaz Mahal) is at the east end of the town, by the side of the river in a large square surrounded by walls, upon which there is a small gallery, as on the walls of many towns in Europe. This square is a kind of garden divided into compartments like our parterres but in the places, where we put gravel, there is white and black marble. You enter this square by a large gate and at first you see on the left hand, a beautiful gallery which faces in the direction of Mecca, where there are three or four niches where the Moufti comes at fixed times to pray. A little farther than the mid-

¹ *Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II (ed. R. C. Temple, 1914) pp. 212-13.

dle of the square on the side of the water you see three great platforms raised one upon the other, with Towers at the four corners of each, and a staircase inside, for proclaiming the hour of prayer. There is a dome above, which is scarcely less magnificent than that of the Val de Grace at Paris. It is covered within and without with white marble, the centre being of brick. Under this dome there is an empty tomb, for the begam is interred under a vault beneath the first platform. The same changes which are made below in the subterranean place are made above around the tomb.... I witnessed the commencement and accomplishment of this "great work on which twenty-two years have been spent during which twenty thousand men worked incessantly; this is sufficient to enable one to realize that the cost of it has been enormous. It is said that the scaffoldings alone cost more than the entire work because from want of wood they as well as the support of the arches, had all to be made of brick; this has entailed much labour and heavy expenditure. Shahjehan began to build his own tomb on the other side of the river but the war with his sons interrupted his plan and Aurangzeb who reigns at present is not disposed to complete it.¹

Niccolai Manucci, the Venetian, came to India in 1656. He was a gunner and fought at Samogarh in 1658. Later, he served under Raja Jai-singh. His statements about the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal are as follow:

Shahjahan gave orders for the construction of her mausoleum opposite the royal palace at Agra with great expenditure. It is in two storeys, in the lower being deposited the body of his beloved wife. No one may see this sepulchre for it is in the charge of women and eunuchs... . Following the orders of Aurangzeb, Itibar Khan then sent the head of Dara to be buried in the sepulchre of Taj Mahal, his mother, which is opposite the palace as, I have said. This (the Queen's death) was one of the greatest sorrows endured by the Emperor Shahjahan in all his life as many a time he had declared to the nobles. This is why he built this mausoleum opposite to his palace, thinking by a sight of the tomb to dissipate the pain he felt at the death of his beloved wife, Taj Mahal. But after the head of his beloved son was buried in the same place his sorrows were redoubled.²

Francis Bernier, who was also French, lived at Agra during his stay in India from 1656 to 1668. He was attached to the court for quite some time.

1 *Travels in India* by J. B. Tavernier, Vol. I (tr. V. Ball) (ed. 2nd ed. by W. Crooke, 1925) pp. 90-91.

2 *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. I (tr. W. Irvine) (1907) pp. 183, 360.

He also left a clear record of his observations of the Taj Mahal:

I shall finish this letter with a description of the two wonderful mausoleums which constitute the chief superiority of Agra over Delhi. One was erected by Jehan-guyre in honour of his father Ekbar; and Chah-Jehan raised the other to the memory of his wife Tage Mehale, that extraordinary and celebrated beauty, of whom her husband was so enamoured that it is said he was constant to her during life, and at her death was so affected as nearly to follow her to the grave.¹

It may be noted that these travellers mostly inscribed their accounts on return and had no reason to suppress any misdeed of the Mughal Emperor and to offer a misleading eulogy.

(c) *Epigraphical Record*

The Taj Mahal has large scale inscriptions upon the south and north archways of the main (south) gateway, inside the Mosque adjunct, upon the four *iwans* of the mausoleum and in the mortuary hall. They are mainly Quranic verses and are mostly inlaid deep in marble slabs which are interlocked by the huge boulders which constitute the fabric of the structure, viz. the core. The gateway has the whole chapter 'Walsazr' (The Day-Break) containing 30 verses, the chapter 'Wad-duha' (The Glorious Morning Light) containing 11 verses, the chapter 'Wat-tin' (The Fig) containing eight verses and the chapter 'Alam-Nashrah' (Have We not Opened) containing eight verses, which have been appropriately selected for depiction on the entrance. The last one ends with the words, " Finished with the help of the Most High 1057 Hijri (A.D. 1647)" which marks the date of the completion of the Taj Mahal. Fifteen verses of the chapter 'Wash-Shums' (The Sun) and four of the chapter 'Sura Ikhlas' (The Declaration of God's Unity) have been painted inside the Mosque. The whole chapter 'Yasin' has been inscribed upon the four arched portals (*iwans*) of the mausoleum. The interior arches (inside the portals) have verses from the chapters 'Izash-Shamso Kuvvirat' (The Folding Up), 'Izas-Samaun Fatarat' (The Cleaving in Sunder), 'Iz-as-Samaun Shaqqat' (The Rending in Sunder) and 'Lam-Yakonil Lazina Kafarao' (The Evidence). The date 1046 A.H. (A.D. 1636) has been inscribed at the end of the Quranic verses on the western side. Verses from the chapters 'Mulk' (Dominion), 'Fath' (Victory), 'Mursalat' (Those Sent Forth) and 'Zumar' (The Crowds) have also been inscribed in the mortuary hall around the frieze which rotates over the arched niches and also around them. At the end of the

¹ *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (tr. A. Constable) (New Delhi 1972) p. 293.

chapter 'Zumar' is the Persian inscription "written by the insignificant being, Amānat Khān Shirāzī, in the year 1048 Hijri and the 12th of His Majesty's reign" (A.D. 1638).

There are, thus, three dates by Amānat Khān Shirāzī, the Calligrapher:

- (i) 1636 in the western portal,
- (ii) 1638 in the interior, and
- (iii) 1647 on the gateway.

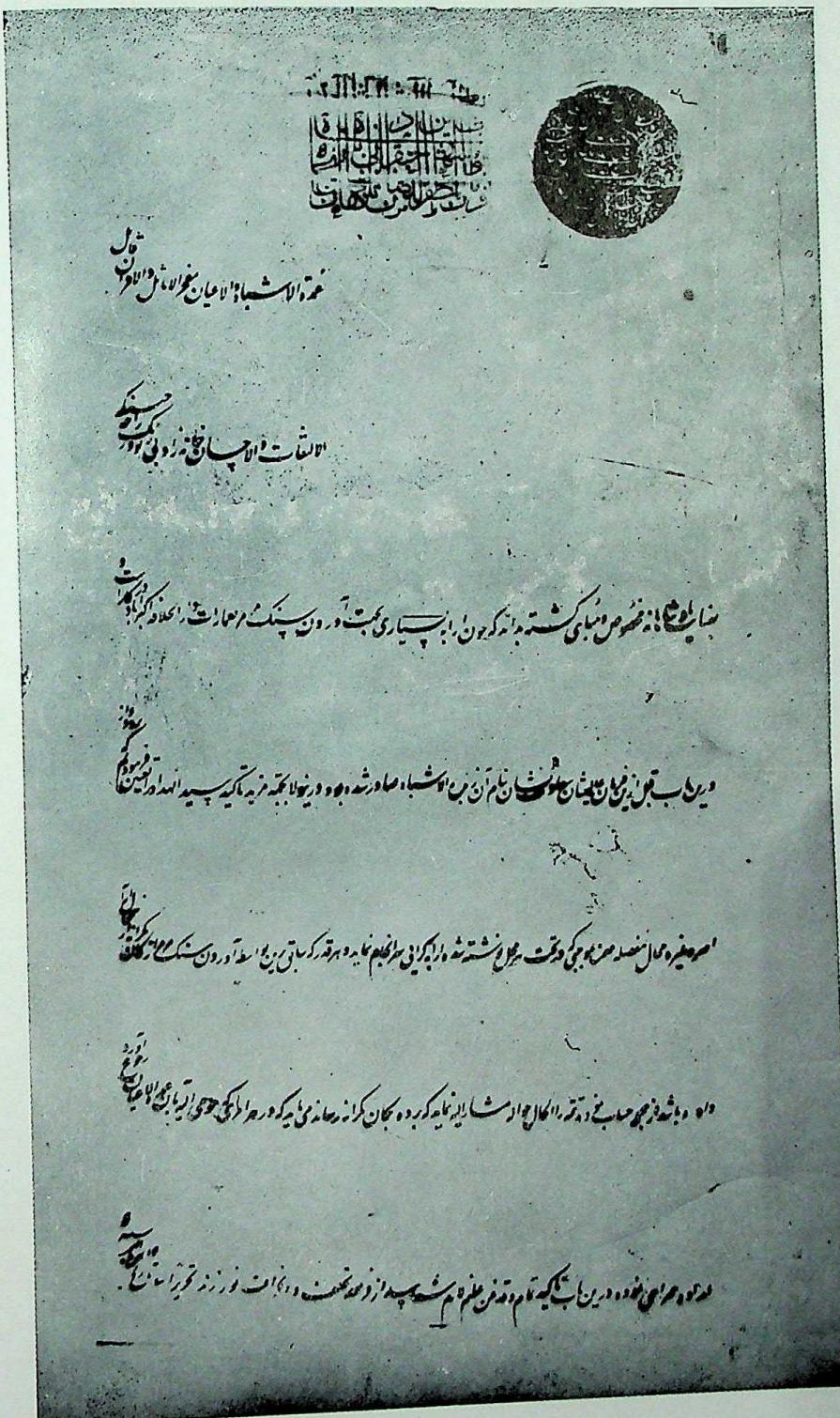
The years represent the dates of the completion of the respective portions. Noteworthy is the fact, again, that they are not inscribed upon any superfluous veneering or casing but are inlaid upon the slabs which are inseparably embedded with the core, in accordance with the sectional scheme of the construction.

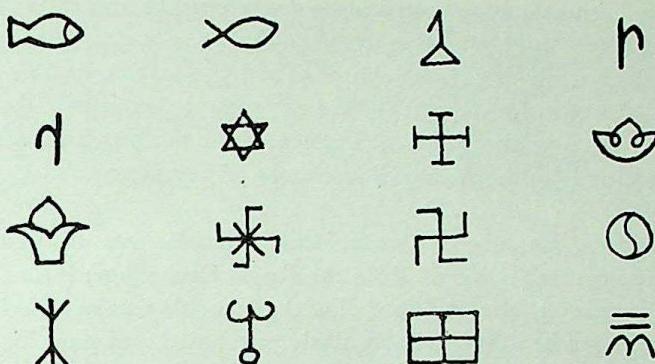
Besides the Quranic verses, the cenotaphs and the tombstones, respectively in the Upper Hall and the Vault, have Persian inscriptions. The epitaphs read as follows:

- (i) The sacred sepulchre of His Most Exalted Majesty, Dweller of Paradise, the Second Lord of Constellation, the King Shāh Jahān, may his mausoleum ever flourish, 1076 Hijri (A.D. 1666)—on the south side of Shah Jehan's Cenotaph.
- (ii) Here lies Arjumand Bāno Begum called Mumtaz Mahal who died in 1040 Hijri (A.D. 1630)—on the south side of Mumtaz's Cenotaph.
- (iii) The illuminated sepulchre and sacred resting place of His Most Exalted Majesty, dignified as Razwan, having his abode in starry heaven, dweller in the regions of bliss, the second Lord of Constellation Shah Jehan the King Valiant; may his mausoleum ever flourish and may his abode be in the heavens. He travelled from this transitory world to the world of eternity on the night of 28th of the month of Rajab 1076 Hijri (A.D. 1666)—on the south side of Shah Jehan's tombstone.
- (iv) The illuminated tomb of Arjumand Bāno Begum called Mumtāz Mahal who died in the year 1040 Hijri (A.D. 1630)—on the south side of Mumtaz's tombstone.

Besides these inscriptions, a number of mason-marks are also there on pavements stones at the Taj Mahal. Some typical marks which are found almost in all Mughal buildings of Agra of the 17th century, from the Tomb of Akbar at Sikandara (1605-1612) to the Moti Masjid of Agra Fort (1648-1654), are given on the next page.

Howsoever differently these mason-marks may be interpreted, they put the constructional techniques of all these buildings in one category.





(d) *Imperial Firmans*

The essential facts about the construction of the Taj Mahal have not only been recorded by the chroniclers and the foreign travellers, but a number of Imperial *firmans* also throw valuable light on this aspect of the great monument. A catalogue entitled '*A Descriptive List of Farmans*', '*Manshurs and Nishans*' (addressed by the Imperial Mughals to the Princes of Rajasthan)¹ contains reference to five such *firmans*. All of these have been addressed to Mirza Raja Jaisingh of Ambar (Amer, modern Jaipur) who was one of the leading Rajput nobles at the Mughal court during this period. He was extremely loyal and held the *mansab* of 3000 *zats* and 1500 *sawars* under Jahangir. Shah Jehan raised his *zat mansab* to 4000 after his accession.

Three of these five *firmans* are available in original at the Bikaner Archives and their photostat copies are being given herewith (Plate I to III). The last two are in the custody of the Maharaja of Jaipur and have been listed in the aforesaid Catalogue under Part II (Copies). A study of these *firmans* would prove to be greatly interesting and revealing, and would help us to understand the monument intimately.

The first *firman*² is from Shah Jehan to Mirza Raja Jaisingh (Plate I). It is dated 9th Rajab 1041 A.H./21 January 1632. Its contents are as follows:

As a great number of carts is required for transportation of marble needed for constructing buildings (at the capital), a *firman* was previously sent (to you to procure them). It is, again, desired of you that as many carts on hire be arranged as possible at the earliest time, as has

1 Published by the Directorate of Archives, Government of Rajasthan, Bikaner, 1962, hereinafter referred to as *Catalogue*.

2 *Catalogue*, part I (Original Documents) p. 4, Serial No. 25 (Old Serial No. 34).

already been written to you, and be despatched to Makrāna for expediting the transport of marble to the capital. Every assistance be given to Allahadad who has been deputed to arrange transportation of marble to Akbarabad. Account (of the expenditure on carts) along with the previous account of amounts allocated for the purchase of marble be submitted (to the *mutasaddi* in charge of payments).

This *firman*, thus, not only shows that white marble was brought from Makrāna and cartage was paid from the Royal Exchequer; it also reveals the fact (contrary to the popular belief that marble was supplied by the vassal states *ex-gratis*) that it was regularly purchased and paid for by the Mughal Treasury, and special officers were posted at Makrana to purchase the marble and also to pay for the cartage.

The second *firman*¹ from Shah Jehan to Mirzā Rāja Jaisingh (Plate II) is dated 4 Rabi'ul-Awwal 1042 A.H./9 September 1632. It reads:

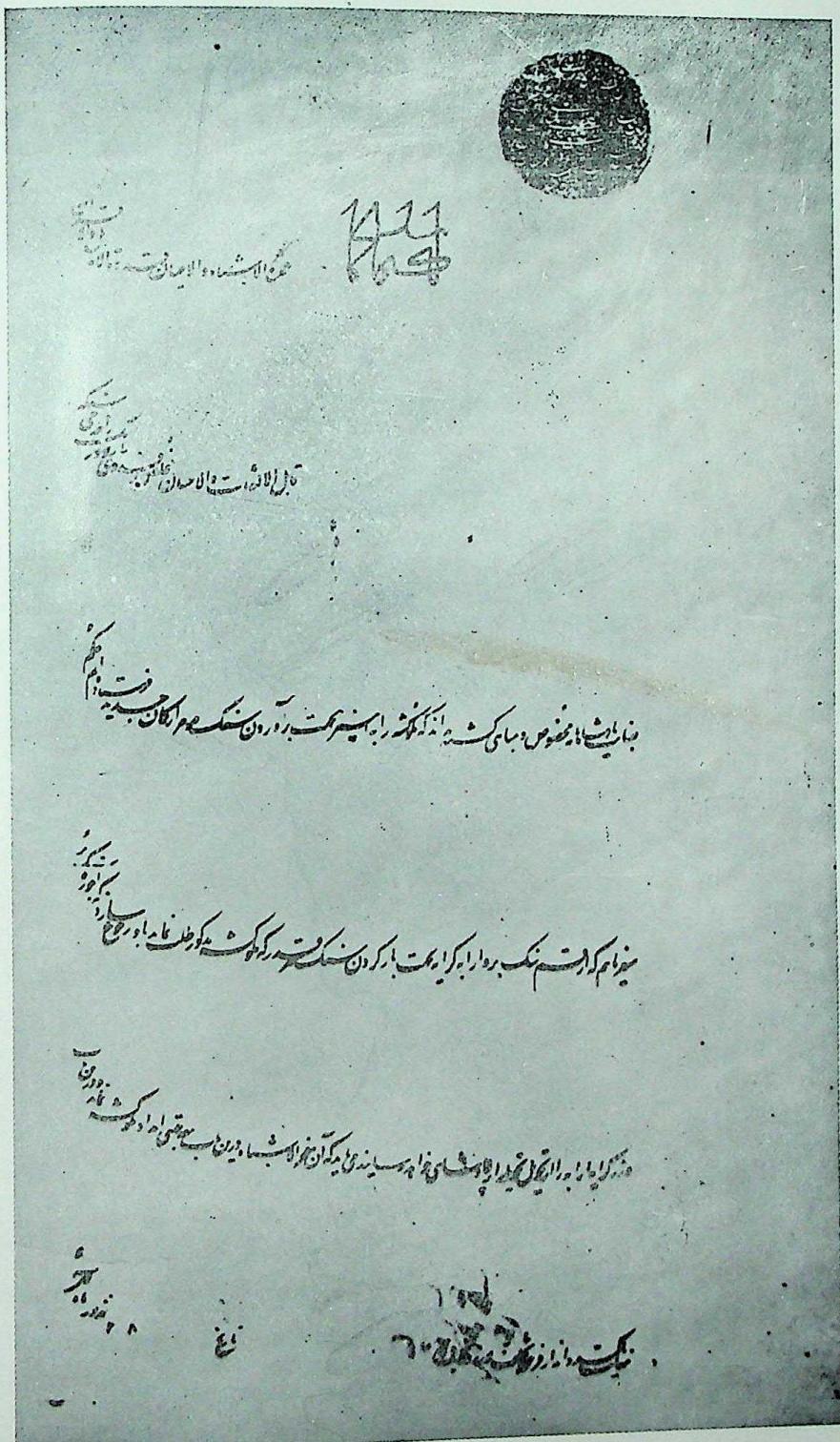
Maluk Shah has been deputed to Ambar (Amer) to bring marble from the new mines (of Makrāna). It is commanded that carts on hire be arranged for transportation of marble, and Maluk Shah be assisted to purchase as much marble as he may desire to have. The purchase price of marble and cartage shall be paid by him from the Royal Treasury. Every other assistance be given to him to procure and bring marble and sculptors to the capital expeditiously.

This also shows that all marble was purchased and the price was paid from the Royal Exchequer. Special officers were deputed to purchase marble and pay for the cartage, under regular accounting.

The Third Firman² from the Emperor Shah Jehan to Raja Jaisingh (Plate III) is dated 7 Safar 1047 A.H./21 June A.D. 1637. It reads:

We hear that your men retain the stone-cutters (*sang-tarash*) of the region at Ambar (Amer) and Rājnagar. This creates shortage of stone-cutters (miners) at Makrāna and the work (of procuring marble) suffers. Hence, it is desired of you that no stone-cutter be detained at Ambar and Rājnagar, and all of them who are available, be sent to the *Mutasaddis* of Makrāna (so that marble be procured in large quantities to be despatched to the capital for building edifices).
This shows that for the last five years, at least since 1632, large quantities of white marble were constantly needed at Agra, and every possible effort was made to maintain its continuous and uninterrupted mining at

¹ Catalogue, part I (Original Document) p. 4, Serial No. 27 (Old Serial No. 38).
² Ibid., p. 5, Serial No. 35 (Old Serial No. 46).



Makrāna and transportation to the capital. It gives an idea of the enormous scale of building work that was going on at Agra about this period.

The fourth *firman*¹ was issued by the Mughal court to Mirza Raja Jaisingh. It is dated 26 Jamād-al Ākhir 1043 A.H./18 December A.D. 1633. As its copy could not be obtained, the actual words are not known. However, as the Catalogue describes it, it is related to the grant of four houses to Mirza Raja Jaisingh in compensation for the land acquired for the Taj Mahal.

The fifth and last *firman*² is also issued similarly on the same day and supplements the preceding one. The Catalogue says that it gives details of the four houses granted to Mirza Raja Jaisingh in compensation of the plot of land utilised for the Taj Mahal, viz.

- 1 *Haveli* of Rāja Bhagwāndas,
- 2 *Haveli* of Mādhō Singh,
- 3 *Haveli* of Rūpjī and
- 4 *Haveli* of Chānd Singh, son of Swarūp Singh.

These two *firmans* (fourth and fifth) are extremely important documents, inasmuch as they make out the historical facts that the piece of land which was selected for constructing the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal originally belonged to Mirza Raja Jaisingh, grandson of Raja Mansingh. This, thus, confirms the statement of Lahauri quoted above.³ This land was deemed to be the best site because of its distance from the city, its suitable orientation for the planned Mosque and its situation at a place where the thrust of the river would be the minimum. This land was duly acquired for the Taj and four houses were granted to the owner, viz. Mirza Raja Jaisingh, in lieu of it. This also confirms the aforesaid statements of Lahauri and Kambo⁴ which are not only corroborated but are also supplemented in a large measure by these *firmans*. Obviously, 'ālī' mānzil az khālisa' means, as the discovery of this *firman* now proves, that good houses from the Crownlands were given in lieu of it, and not that a palace was already standing on the land which was acquired.

Those who are acquainted with Mughal law of inheritance know that on the death of a Mughal *mansabdār* his property went to the Emperor and he was not allowed to pass it on to his descendants, barring of course the fact that the Emperor did not interfere in the internal affairs of the Rajput states and liberally recognised their succession. The four *havelis* named in the firman, situated at Agra, could have, thus, been included in the Crownlands and given in exchange for the plot of land acquired for the Taj Mahal. It was not a confiscation, nor a forcible occupation.

1 Catalogue, part II (Copies) p. 55, Serial No. 3 (Old Serial No. 177).

2 Ibid., p. 55, Serial No. 4 (Old Serial No. 176/R).

3 Badshahnama, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

4 Ibid., p. 403; Amal-i Salih, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 448-52.

Altogether, these five Firmans give the following important facts related to the construction of the Taj Mahal :

- 1 That white marble for construction of the Taj Mahal was brought from Makrāna.
- 2 It was not supplied *ex-gratis* but was regularly purchased; and the purchase price along with the cartage was paid from the Royal Treasury.
- 3 Sculptors were also requisitioned from Rajasthan.
- 4 Marble in large quantities was transported from Makrāna to Agra for more than five years beginning at least from January 1632 (the date of the first *firman*) to at least June 1637 (the date of the third *firman*.)
- 5 A plot of land was specially selected for building the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal. It then belonged to Mirza Raja Jaisingh. It was acquired; and four *havelis* from the properties which had been bequeathed upon the Emperor were granted to the *Rāja* in lieu of it. The fourth *firman* settles the deal while the fifth actually transfers the *havelis*, which have been named to the *Rāja* as the exchange price. Both are dated 18 December 1633, which marks the actual beginning of the construction on the project.¹

These evidences prove beyond any possible doubt, that the Taj Mahal was built by the Mughal Emperor Shah Jehan between 1631 and 1648 from its very foundations as a sepulchral memorial commensurate to the grandeur of his Empire. We want to see a single piece of positive evidence, whether a Persian, Sanskrit or Hindi document, chronicle or literary, or a foreign traveller's account, or an epigraph, or a *firman* or *vakil's* report, or any other contemporary or later contemporary record, prior to A.D. 1803, in support of the hypothesis that it was originally a Rajput palace or a temple and Shah Jehan only converted it into a mausoleum. Upon all those who write a history of Medieval India, the sacred duty is cast to realise pre-eminently that we must now start evaluating our medieval heritage honestly and correctly. Let us assess, objectively and dispassionately, the role our medieval period of history has played towards the evolution of Indian culture as a continuous process from the most ancient times to the present day.

¹ This part was published in the Illustrated Weekly of India of 8th June 1975 under the title 'Who Built the Taj—Conclusive Proof' in a popular form. Some queries were raised in its issue of 20th July 1975. Most of them are laymen's innocent queries and have little bearing on the subject. The following facts may be borne in mind in this connection:

(1) That there could not have been a *firman* for each and every act of the Mughal Emperor or the Court and it is too fanciful to suggest that Shah Jehan would issue a *firman* having reference to Mumtaz's burial, nor can it be claimed that all the *firmans* issued by the Imperial Chancellery have been discovered and studied.

(2) It was not relevant, appropriate or incumbent upon the Emperor to mention in these *firmans* specifically that the marble was needed for a particular building and

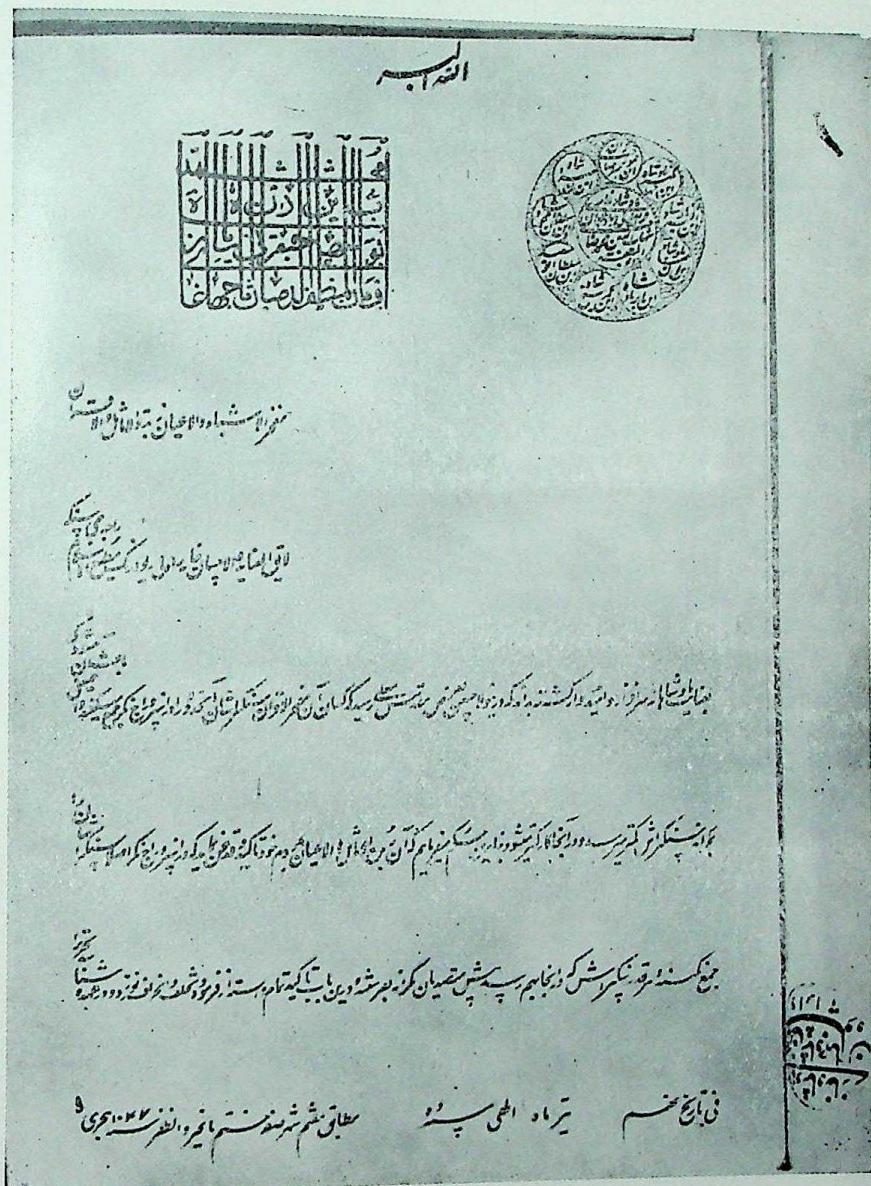


PLATE III

it was sufficient to allude that it was urgently required for building work at the capital. The Moti Masjid of Agra Fort was built after 1648 and there is no great white marble monument at Agra, except the Taj, which would have required continuous supply of marble in such large quantities for five years.

(3) The skeleton is brick masonry work but even in the core marble slabs (e.g. measuring 12' x 4'6" x 9") with breadth faces smoothed, were regularly laid across the masonry, alternatively horizontally and vertically, to interlock the marble slabs of the exterior casing. Thousands of marble slabs were thus needed as soon as work on the skeleton above the plinth began.

(4). In a sense the work on construction and on ornamentation proceeded simultaneously as, while the masons raised the structure, the inlayers and carvers, at the same time, worked on their slabs which were later brought to the structure and fixed at their assigned place as per the decorative scheme. Inlaid and carved designs which adorn the dados and other mural surface required years of patient work upon them and it is childish to presume that the marble slabs were needed only after the structure had been completed. In fact, in such a grand project as that of the Taj, the skeleton would take only one-fourth of the total time and its major portion would be devoted to the incarnation of its Aesthetics.

(5) 'Manzil' means 'land,' not 'palace' as is shown by the famous Persian proverb: 'Keen Jahan-ra ghor akhir manzil-ast, which means: world's last resting ground, i.e. land, is grave and not that the 'Palace is the last grave of the world' which would be absurd.

(6) The vastness of the piece of land and, more than that, its suitability for the proposed project fully justify its exchange for the four *havelis*.

(7) There is nothing extraordinary if the order to procure marble was given before the deal was actually brought into black and white. The decision to build the memorial at the place had been taken and the formalities could follow.

(8) The information given by A.K. Roy of Bikaner that Raja Mansingh's House (Palace) was near the great market in Agra and not on the Jamuna and, as per the List in possession of the City Palace Authorities in Jaipur, he built only three temple outside his state, viz. the Man-Mandir at Pushkar, the Man-Mandir at Varanasi and the Govinda-Deva Temple at Vrindaban, is important and further advances the study. This is how constructive criticism helps a subject to grow positively. One would, therefore, like to see the text of the two *firman*s which are in the custody of the Maharaja of Jaipur and the 'Man-Prakash' composed by Muraridas, a minister of Mansingh. The latter is a historical-poetical work describing the exploits of Raja Mansingh and his cultural activities. It may also contain an account of his architectural works (its fragmentary copy is in the Library of the Asiatic Society Calcutta, Serial No. 8259, Cf. the *Shodh-Patrika*, Udaipur, Vol. XVIII-1, pp. 25-49). It is quite likely that the *pothikhana*, the personal Library of the Maharaja of Jaipur, contains several documents which may throw valuable light on the cultural activities of the rulers of Ambar from Raja Bharmal to Mirza Raja Jaisingh and a search into its shelves would be of immense historical benefit.

KHASRA DOCUMENTS IN RAJASTHAN

S.P. GUPTA

A large mass of official revenue records bearing on the economic and revenue history of eastern Rajasthan belonging to 17th and 18th century are available in the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. These records were compiled on the basis of various categories of village papers (*kāghaz-i khām*) such as *khasra*, *raqbabandī* and *paṭṭa*, etc. References to these papers occur frequently in *arhsattas*. These village papers were usually maintained in the local language by the *paṭel* and *paṭwārī*, who were the headman and accountant respectively. Some such papers of an early date have survived: I came across a *khasra jama'bandī* document dated Jan. 5 and 6, 1796 for *mauza'* (village) Madsudanpura, *pargana* Chatsu. This *khasra* bears the signature of *paṭel* and *patwārī* of the same *mauza'*. Unfortunately, it is not complete in that it covers only one harvest, viz. *kharif*.

This *khasra jama'bandī* document contains the following entries:

- 1 Name of the *asāmī* or cultivator, with the crop cultivated by him.
- 2 Width (*arz*) of the field of the *asāmī* under the crop.
- 3 Length (*tul*) of the field of the *asāmī*.
- 4 Total area, calculated by multiplying No.2 by 3.
- 5 *Vadi* or exempted area on account of *nābūd* (crop failure).
- 6 *Baqi*, the balance of the cultivated area, after deducting No. 5 from 4.
- 7 Cash rates per *bigha* applied for the respective crops.
Entries Nos. 2 to 7 are furnished for *zabtī* crops only. For other crops, on which revenue was assessed in kind, the next entry (No. 8) is furnished.
- 8 Total produce of crop cultivated by each *asāmī* and the share of *dīwān* (state) and the *ra'iyatī* (peasant) out of it.
- 9 Other exactions levied upon peasants under *zabtī* and *jinsī* along with their rates.
- 10 *Tirij* (an abstract account completed from the other detailed account) of *zabtī* and *jinsī*.
- 11 The state share in kind (*jinsī*) which is to be sent to Sawai Jaipur.

The crops under *zabtī* are *vana* or cotton (*Gossypium neglectum*), *māndawa* (*Indica*) and *chola* (*Cicer arietinum*); and under *jinsī*, the crops are *bājra* (*Sorghum halepense*), *jawār* (*Sorghum vulgare*), *moṭh* (*Phaseolus aconitifolius*), *mūng* (*Phaseolus Mungo*), *urd* (*Phaseolus Mungo*), *til* (*Se-*

camum indicum), and *gunwār* (*Cyamopsis psoraliooides*).

The unit in which the length and width of the field are stated is not specified, but since the area based on them is stated in *bighas* and *biswas* and the principle adopted is that 20×20 of units of length equal a *bigha*, the unit of length is clearly the *gantha*.¹ A *gantha*, being equal to 3 *gaz*, the *bigha* amounted to 3,600 square *gaz*. Unluckily, we cannot be sure of the exact equivalent in terms of modern measures.²

The area under *zabtī* does not give any indication of either the produce per *bigha* or the price of the crops. But in the case of the crops, assessed according to the *jinsī* system, the total produce is given along with the quantity demanded as revenue which was to be sold at Sawai Jaipur. The *tol* was 40 seers to a *maund* (*pakkī tol*). It seems from our document that the standard revenue demand in *jinsī* was one-half of the gross produce (See Appendix). The rate of one-fourth is but only rarely, applied on a very small portion of revenue-paying land. *Pāhīs* (Non-resident cultivators) were also charged with this rate (See Appendix).

The other taxes charged from the peasants in this *mauza* were *bhomī* (@ Re 0-1-0 per *bigha*) and *qasūr vat* (the same rate as of *bhomī*) under *zabtī* and *lāgatī* (md. 0-5-8 per *maund*) under *jinsī*. However, *lāgatī* was charged at a concessional rate (@ seers 1.8 per *maund*) upon those peasants who paid the revenue at the rate of one-fourth.

It is interesting to note that we see some important changes in the pattern of agricultural production when we compare the *zabtī* and *jinsī* crops of the same village in the *khasra* with the *kharif* harvest of the year 1730, for which we have information from an *arhsatta* for the *pargana*. The information from both documents is tabulated below:

A: ZABTI			B: JINSI		
Crops	Area 1730	Area 1796	Crops	Area 1730	Area 1796
Cotton	266.5.0	45. 3.0	Bājra	13.11.0	274.0.0
Chola	74.3.0	36.10.0	Moth	9. 8.0	30. 4.0
Mandawa	99.9.0	6. 4.0	Jowār	-	20.20.0
			Mūng & Urd	5. 4.0	31. 0.0
			Til	0. 1.0	41.34.0
			Gunwār	3.11.0	19. 5.0

1 One *gantha* is 1/20th of *jarib*, and equal to three *gaz*. Wilson 'Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms,' p. 166. Also see p. 282 *op. cit.* for the definition of *khasra*. Also see *Dastūr-u'l 'amal*, *pargana Phagi*, (a *pargana* adjoining Chatsu.)

The *dori* used for the measurement was 60 *gaz* in length.

2 It seems to be the *bigha-i-daftari*, which was used in this area. The *Bigha-i-daftari* was equal to 2/3rd of the *Bigha-i Ilāhi*. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*. Appendix A, pp. 393-66.

The table shows that there was a remarkable increase in the *jinsī* crops between 1730 and 1796, these being all food crops except for *til*. It has been argued elsewhere that from the middle of the 17th century to the middle of the 18th century there was a tendency for an increase of *zabī* crops in *kharif*.¹ But in the late 18th century the position seems to be reversed, if the evidence of this village can be regarded as furnishing a fair sample.

Another valuable aspect of the *khāsra*'s information relates to the individual cultivators' holdings.

I have set out in the Appendix the details giving the name of the *asāmī* (peasant cultivator), his holding, the crops sown upon it in *zabī* along with the total produce (*sarwalo*) in *jinsī*, the share of the *dīwān* (state) and the *ra'iyatī* (the cultivator's own share) from each crop.

If we tabulate this information, we find that 16 out of 36 cultivators were cultivating only one crop. Of these six cultivated *til*, five *bājra*, three *moth* and one each *mandawa* and *chola*. These are all food crops, except for *til*. Those cultivating sesame (*til*) as a single crop, produced small quantities and were probably not wholly peasants themselves.

11 out of 36 cultivators, cultivated two to four crops. These may be regarded as comprising the middle strata. Nine persons cultivated more than five crops, and these included the two *patels* or headmen.

All the nine cultivators belonging to the top stratum, cultivated cotton, which was cultivated in all by 14 cultivators. Thus cotton was clearly a crop which could only be cultivated at that time by the big cultivators.

This particular *khāsra* shows that no favourable rate being granted to the *patel* or other larger cultivators. Their larger cultivation was thus probably due partly to 'economics of scales' and partly to the regressive nature of a uniform land-tax.

Naturally, the generalisation one can hazard on the basis of information relating to a single village can only be of limited reliability. But this note would have done its service, if it invites further studies of these interesting documents.

¹ See S. N. Hasan, K. N. Hasan and S.P. Gupta 'The Pattern of Agricultural Production in the Territories of Amber (c. 1650-1750).' *proc. Indian History Congress*, 1966, My-

APPENDIX

AREA (under *zabī* crops), and PRODUCE (of *jīnsi* crops) for each cultivator (*asāmi*)*ZABĪ I**JĪNSI*

<i>Asāmi</i>	<i>Crop</i>	<i>Total Area</i>	<i>Vadi (nābūd)</i>	<i>Bāqī Area</i>	<i>Total Produce</i>	<i>Share of Ratiyatī</i>	<i>Share of Diwānī</i>
1 Manaburi	<i>Vani</i> (Cotton)	4.4.0	0.3.0	4.1.0	—	—	—
	<i>Mandauwa</i>	1.5.0	—	1.5.0	3.33.0	—	—
2 Khubo-mano	<i>Bajra</i>	—	—	—	44. 0.0	22.0.0	22.0.0
	<i>Urd</i>	—	—	—	3.20.0	1.30.0	1.30.0
3 Hema	<i>Cotton</i>	2.14.0	0.5.0	—	9.30.0	4.35.0	4.35.0
	<i>Moth</i>	—	—	2.9.0	1.20.0	0.30.0	0.30.0
4 Piraq-kanwarsa	<i>Pa (tū)</i>	7.9.0	0.9.0	7.0.0	—	—	—
	<i>Cotton</i>	1.8.0	0.8.0	1.0.0	—	—	—
	<i>Chola</i>	7.3.0	0.7.0	6.16.0	62.20.0	31.10.0	31.10.0
	<i>Bijra</i>	—	—	—	14.20.0	7.10.0	7.10.0
	<i>Jowar</i>	—	—	—	10.30.0	5.15.0	5.15.0
	<i>Moth</i>	—	—	—	8.10.0	4. 5.0	4. 5.0
	<i>Til</i>	—	—	—	0.10.0	0. 5.0	0. 5.0
					5.24.8	—	—

Continued

5	Parsak (Mina)	Cotton	0. 7.0	0. 5.0	0. 7.0	—	—	—
		Mandawa	2. 6.0	2. 1.0	2. 1.0	—	—	—
		Chola	0.14.0	0.14.0	0.14.0	—	—	—
		Bājra	1. 9.0	0. 2.0	1. 7.0	4.20.0	2.10.0	2.10.0
parsa piraq pātel						14.20.0	7.10.0	7.10.0
		Jowār	—	—	—	27.20.0	13.30.0	13.30.0
		Moth	—	—	—	0.20.0	0.10.0	0.10.0
		Urd	—	—	—	6. 0.0	3. 0.0	3. 0.0
6	Man singh	Cotton	5. 5.0	5. 0.0	5. 0.0	—	—	—
		Mandawa	0. 5.0	0. 5.0	0. 5.0	—	—	—
		Chola	4. 6.0	0. 4.0	4. 2.0	—	—	—
		Bājra	—	—	—	21.20.0	15.30.0	5.30.0
7	Gaglobal or Gaglabo	Cotton	1. 8.0	0. 2.0	1. 6.0	—	—	—
		Bājra	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Moth	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Til	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	Mugalk (pātel)	Cotton	2.15.0	0. 5.0	1.30.0	—	—	—
		Mandawa	1. 6.0	—	0.30.0	0.35.0	0.35.0	0.35.0

Continued

9	Benak	Cotton <i>Chola</i> <i>Bājra</i> <i>Til</i>	3. 5.0	0. 4.0	3. 1.0	6.20.0 41.10.0 38.20.0	3.10.0 20.25.0 28.35.0	3.10.0 20.25.0 9.25.0	3.10.0 20.25.0 (one-fourth)	3.10.0 20.25.0 5.30.0	3.10.0 20.25.0 14.38.0
10	Daya Ram	Cotton <i>Mandawa</i>	2. 7.0 0. 5.0 0. 19.0 0. 2.0	0. 5.0	2. 2.0 0. 5.0 0. 19.0 0. 2.0	13. 0.0 0. 8.4	6.20.0 —	6.20.0 —	6.20.0	6.20.0	
11	Dhanak	Cotton <i>Chola</i> <i>Bājra</i> <i>Moth</i> <i>Til</i>	2. 4.0 1.19.0 1.14.0	0. 2.0	2. 2.0 0. 2.0	20.10.0 3. 3.0 1.10.0	10. 5.0 1.21.8 —	10. 5.0 1.21.8 —	10. 5.0 1.21.8	10. 5.0 1.21.8	
12	Chimak	Cotton <i>Mandawa</i> <i>Chola</i> <i>Bājra</i>	3. 0.0 1.17.0 1.0.0 1.14.0 1.7.0 0.10.0	0. 5.0 0. 7.0 — 0. 2.0 0. 1.0 —	2.15.0 1.10.0 1.0.0 1.12.0 1.6.0 0.10.0	12.25.0 0.20.0 —	12.25.0 0.20.0 —	12.25.0 0.20.0	12.25.0 0.20.0	12.25.0 0.20.0	
		<i>Bājra</i>				20.10.0	10. 5.0	10. 5.0			

Continued

13	Sewlo	Cotton <i>Chola</i> <i>Moth</i>	2. 8.0 2.16.0	0. 8.0 0. 3.0	2. 0.0 2.13.0	2.10.0 2.10.0
14	Kalak	Cotton <i>Chola</i> <i>(Munga Kalak)</i>	6. 4.0 1. 8.0	0. 5.0 0. 1.0	5.19.0 1. 7.0	0.30.0 0.30.0
15	Godha	<i>Moth</i> <i>Til</i>	—	—	0.30.0 38.20.0	0.15.0 28.35.0 (three-fourth) 1.15.0 —
16	Hemak	Cotton <i>Chola</i> <i>Bajra</i>	1. 6.0 1.11.0 — — —	0. 3.0 0. 2.0 — — —	1. 3.0 1. 9.0 — — —	— — 8.25.0 3. 0.0 3.24.4 —
17	Dhaparia	<i>Mandawa</i> <i>Chola</i> <i>Bajra</i>	0.10.0 2. 8.0 2.17.0	— 0. 3.0 0. 3.0	0.10.0 2. 5.0 2.14.0	4.12.8 1.20.0 16.20.0 —
18	Dhan, Pal & Kasir (Three brothers)	<i>Mandawa</i>	0. 3.0	—	0. 3.0	28. 0.0 8.10.0 —
9	Gakrak	<i>Bajra</i>				14. 0.0 14. 0.0 34. 0.0 17. 0.0

Continued

20	Roopa Bhokkar	<i>Bājra</i> <i>Moth</i> <i>Til</i>	5.15.0 9.20.0 0.31.0	2.27.8 4.30.0 —	2.27.8 4.30.0 —
21	Bhiwak	<i>Bājra</i> <i>Moth</i>	32.30.0 6. 0.0	16.15.0 3. 0.0	16.15.0 3. 0.0
22	Kanak	<i>Bājra</i> <i>Til</i>	21.20.0 8. 7.0	10.30.0 —	10.30.0 —
23	Mohan Chayal	<i>Bājra</i>	3.10.0	1.25.0	1.25.0
24	Nolo Bhawro	<i>Bājra</i>	3.20.0	1.30.0	1.30.0
25	Harchand (Pahai)	<i>Bājra</i>	8.30.0	6.22.8 (three-fourth)	2. 7.8 (one-fourth)
26	Hirabai	<i>Moth</i> <i>Til</i>	11.10.0	8.17.8 (three-fourth) —	2.32.8 (one-fourth) —
27	Budli	<i>Moth</i>	1. 0.0	0.20.0	0.20.0

Continued

28	Somia	<i>Moth</i>	2.30.0	1.15.0	1.15.0
29	Manas	<i>Moth</i>	0.20.0	0.15.0 (three-fourth)	0. 5.0 (one-fourth)
30	Thakur (Mina)	<i>Til</i>	0.23.0	—	—
31	Bhar Shyam	<i>Til</i>	1. 2. 4	—	—
32	Gaur	<i>Til</i>	0.25.0	—	—
33	Ram Ji Kairo	<i>Til</i>	15.17.0	—	—
34	Chimu <i>Paiel</i>	<i>Til</i>	2.30.0	—	—
35	Mother-in- laws of Khovba	<i>Til</i>	0.10.0	—	—
36	Ajani (un- identified)	<i>Chola</i>	0. 2.0 0. 1.0 } 1. 5.0 }	1. 8.0 1. 4.0 }	—

AGRARIAN STRUCTURE OF BENGAL AT THE BEGINNING OF BRITISH CONQUEST

A Contemporary Persian Account

Z. U. MALIK

Introductory

THIS paper attempts to analyse a contemporary Persian account of agrarian structure in Bengal as it stood after the acquisition of Diwani in 1765 by the East India Company. The account contained in *Risālā-i-Zirā'at*,¹ a rare revenue manual, deals with the main features of agrarian institutions under the Mughal governors in the historical perspective of the 18th century, thus presenting a valuable source-material which can be used to supplement the vast historical literature produced in English on the subject. Though the work is anonymous and undated, the subject-matter treated clearly shows that it was composed between the years, 1765-1772. The author undertook the work at the request of some officer presumably British (*Yak Sāheb*) and based his narration on personal observations as well as informations obtained directly from expert accountants and clerks serving in the department of finance. The work is divided into 9 Sections and covers a wide spectrum of topics all of which testify to the author's deep understanding of agrarian affairs and local issues in the *mufassal*.² The introductory portion is devoted to a brief description of the process and pattern of training the Royal Princes received in former times as governors of provinces which qualified them for conducting the affairs of government after their accession to the imperial throne. The stratification and diversity of the peasantry (*ri'ayā*), though sketchily treated, is an important section in the *risālā* (treatise) which not only explains the meaning of various terms in current use but also examines the nature and character of different categories of land-tenures operating in these days. The author mainly concentrates on the position and power enjoyed by the *zamindārs*, revenue-farmers (*mustājirs*) and money-lenders (*mahājans*) in *parganās* and discusses problems arising from the complexities of their mutual relationship. He deals with the powers and functions of officers employed in the work of

1 The only extant copy of the work is preserved in the Edinburgh University Library.
MS. No. 144.

2 A subordinate sub-division of a district; a plain country-side far away from the headquarters.

assessment and collection of revenues, and regards ability, integrity and experience in the revenue officers as essential qualifications for the proper discharge of their duties. The emphasis throughout the work has been placed on the just and vigilant administration that alone could guarantee security of peasants (*ri'ayā*) and prosperity of villages. He has shown how the revenue-farmers, landlords and officers only too frequently imposed on peasants, unauthorised cesses under the denomination of *mathūt* (money contribution) on various pretexts and ruthlessly collected them without any check from authorities at the headquarters (*sadar*). His attention is continually drawn to the noticeable fall in the realisation of state-dues, growing confusion in the *sadar* treasury and rampant corruption among the civil officers. The picture of an ordinary peasant that emerges from the study of the *risālā* is that of a helpless creature burdened with numerous exactions imposed by all sorts of exploiters. The revenue-farmer (*mustājir*) and landlords (*zamindārs*) particularly felt no scruples, whenever faced with the threat of loss in their income from lands owing to overassessment or mismanagement in rack-renting and oppressing the peasantry. These unlawful and unduly excessive demands caused immense sufferings to the tillers of soil, ultimately leading to the ruin of villages. Economic compulsions, such as payment of increased revenue and additional tax-levies, purchase of cattle, wedding expenses and expenses involved in mutual disputes forced the peasants to borrow money from the local money-lenders. But as a result of failure to pay the interest of $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per rupee which was later on increased by more than two annas on account of discount charged both at the time of lending and repayment, the peasants remained debt-ridden and poverty-stricken. The officers cared little about the observance of rules and regulations, and the *zamindārs* took no pains to develop agricultural production or improve the miserable lot of tillers. At the same time, not all the revenue-farmers and *zamindārs* were economically better off and many were hard-pressed due to the difficulties and risks involved in the system of settlement and revenue collection. The revenue-farmer, motivated by the spirit of competition or incited by selfish advisers, made conjectural estimate of the produce and raised the bid to obtain *sanad* of appointment. Non-payment of stipulated amounts obliged him to take loans from the bankers, and in order to make up losses, he resorted to plunder of the village by imposing contributions and fines on helpless cultivators. A banker who stood surety for a *zamindār*'s financial obligations, was always on the look-out for an opportunity to purchase his *zamindārī* at the auction occasioned by reason of default in revenue-payments. Thus, the public banker acquired a dominant position in rural society because he kept in his hands the main strings of financial control. The *zamindārs* described in the *risālā* hold the rank of intermediaries responsible for collection and remittance of land-revenues (*malguzārī*) assessed on villages

under their charge. For the performance of these duties, a *zamindār* was paid a fixed amount out of the assessed land-revenue (*jama'*). Thus, out of one rupee the *zamindār* was entitled to receive five annas and six paisa, the *tarafdar* got one anna and the remaining nine annas and six paisa were remitted to the government treasury. He has used the term *shikamī* for a *ta' alluqdar* holding land within the estate of a *zamindār* and remitting fixed revenue through the latter. He is impressed by a high degree of economic prosperity prevailing in the province of Bihar while widespread discontent and insecurity marked the conditions in the villages of Bengal. He ascribes this to the fact that in Bihar, lands were under the possession of *jagirdārs*, and in Bengal, on the other hand, the system of revenue-farming operated. He has pointed out differences between *mustājir* (revenue-farmer) and *muta'ahhidi* (contractor). The *muta'ahhidi* was a government servant appointed to collect the assessed revenue from the *zamindārs* and deposit it in the central treasury. He was entitled to make remissions if the crops were damaged due to some natural calamity and debit the amount deposited, provided the authorities were convinced of the authenticity of his reports. The revenue-farmer (*mustājir*), on the contrary, was bound by the terms of his agreement to pay the full amount under all circumstances. The work also provides information pertaining to the system of survey and measurement, principle of *hast-o-būd* (comparative rent-roll), application of *dastūr* (cash-rates) for fixation of rates and the procedure and practices of revenue administration.

The author has thus not only surveyed the prevailing rural scene of Bengal but also compared the socio-economic conditions with the situation prior to the battle of Plassey. It may be concluded that political changes had their effect on the practical operation of the agrarian system though its basic form and character remained unaltered till the establishment of Permanent Settlement in 1793. The principal shortcoming of the work under study is the author's failure to illustrate his statements and observations by specimen papers on such matters as appointments of revenue officers, grants of land, public accountancy and other statistical data which characterise most of the revenue manuals of the Mughal period.

No introductory survey of the political situation resulting from the grant of *Dīwāni* and the administrative arrangements set up by the British Government for revenue collection¹ is really necessary before

¹ By the treaty of 12 August 1765 the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II, had bestowed on the East India Company the office of *Diwan* of the three eastern provinces, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. The Company already held Calcutta in free tenure and enjoyed the position of *zamindār* in the adjacent twenty-four *Pargāns* while it directly administered the ceded Districts of Burdwan, Chittagon and Midnapur. As *diwan*, the Company had acquired the right not only to manage the revenue affairs but also to control and collect the customs. In view of the difficult and compli-

proceeding to discuss the main information given in *Risālā-i Zirā'at*. The scope of the present paper is to compare and collaborate the account given by the *Risālā* with the relevant evidence contained in two other contemporary Persian works of great importance, namely, *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal*¹ and *Tāsin's Glossary*.²

CLASSIFICATION OF PEASANTRY

The author has divided the peasants in the following four categories and explained the nature of their tenures.

1 *Mugarrarī or Pattī*

These peasants were holders of *pattā*³ (lease deed) and paid the revenue according to *pattā*, whether the crops raised by them were perfect or damaged, and in whatever manner they thought fit. The *pattā* granted to such peasants in the *mufaṣṣal* might be considered as a concession because while they generally engaged for ten *bighās* (held the *pattā* for ten *bighās*) they actually cultivated fifteen *bighās* of land, conse-

cated nature of the work, the Company did not take over the administration of the revenues but continued the old system and retained the Indian officers like 'āmils and *tehsildārs* for the settlement and collection of the land-revenue. The settlement of revenues was generally made with the *zamindārs*, but in areas where they refused to undertake the responsibility, lands were farmed out to the highest bidders. After the death of Mir Ja'afar in February 1765, his minor son Najm-ud Daulah was seated on the *masnād* of Nizamat and the English Government appointed two deputy-*diwans*, Raza Khan in Bengal and Raja Shitab Rai in Bihar. The British Resident at Murshidabad, Francis Sykes, was to execute officially the disposal of the revenues to prevent the oppression of the natives and to safeguard the interests of the Company. In addition to these functions, the Resident inspected the Courts of Justice at Murshidabad. Under the guise of general supervision of revenue affairs the servants of the Company were ruling the province though the Court of Directors had directed them to maintain an attitude of non-intervention in the administration. In 1769 Hanry Verest, President of the Company, recommended for the appointment of English supervisors to extricate corruption and other abuses resulting from the dual system of government in Bengal. Besides enforcing justice and abolishing arbitrary fines, the supervisor was instructed to collect a detailed information regarding the produce and capacity of lands by visiting each division in the district under his charge and holding talks with the *zamindārs* and local head-collector on agrarian matters. For details, W. K. Firminger, *The Fifth Report*, Vol. I, CIXI; N. K. Sinha, *The Economic History of Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 23-37. B. B. Misra, *The Central Administration of the East India Company*, pp. 108-13, 171-76, R. Dutt, *The Economic History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 25-30.

1 B.M. MS. Add. 6586.

2 *Ibid.*, Add. 6603.

3 A deed of lease or a document stating the revenue-demand, the area to be cultivated and kinds of crops to be raised which was given by a *zamindār* to individual cultivators.

quently they paid the rent for ten *bighās* only as shown in the document. The surplus income derived from the cultivation of five *bighās* made them financially well-off and they somehow managed the payment of revenues in full.

II *Faṣli*

These peasants were also called *behti* or *khudkāṣht*¹ (resident cultivator). They obtained *pattā* every year, cultivated the land and according to the nature and kind of cultivation (*jot*)² paid the revenue (*zar*). Such cultivators had their homes in the *parganā*³ where they were engaged in agricultural activities. These peasants paid their rent every year, fixed on the basis of tillage, along with the amount of *mathūt*⁴, and for this reason they were poor and helpless. In fact, the prosperity of *mauza*⁵ and village depended on these cultivators because they formed the bulk of peasant population.⁶ The *patwāris*⁷ and *gumashṭās*⁸ (agents) measured

1 *Khudkāṣht*, peasant has been defined by Khawaja Yasin as one "who has the house in the estate of his *zamindār* and who is engaged in cultivation. If the owner of the land cultivates his own land he is called *khudkāṣht*." *Glossary, Purnea*, MS. ff. 53b, 72b. Satish Chandra has discussed in detail the main features of the *khudkāṣht* tenure in "Some Aspects of Indian Village Society in Northern India During the 18th Century," *The Indian Historical Review*, Delhi, 1974, Vol. 1, pp. 52, 53.

2 *Jot* here means tillage or cultivation. H. H. Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, 242a. It was also used as a tenancy, especially in the Bihar districts. "In general, the *ra'iyat* who holds direct from the landlord is called *joidār* and his holding is a *jot*." B. H. Badan-Powell, *The Land Systems of British India*, p. 600.

3 A number of villages formed a *parganā* which was a fiscal as well as a territorial unit.

4 *Mathūt* was a contribution or impost levied by government or *zamindār* on cultivators. "It signified a certain proportionable increase of a capital sum, a percentage of about one-and a half-rupee on each hundred of the *ausil jama'* of the *khāliṣa mahāls*, and made up of the four components *abwābs* (cesses): (1) *Nazar Puneh*, (2) *Bhay Khila't*, (3) *Pushtā Bandi*, and (4) *Rasūm-i Nazrat*."

I *Nazar Puneh*: Presents offered by the *zamindārs* to the officers of the Revenue Department at the annual settlement.

II *Bhay Khila't*: At the time of annual settlement the government bestowed *khila'tis* or robes of honour on *zamindārs* as "tokens of annual investiture in their offices" and exacted its cost from them.

III *Pushtā Bandi*: Contribution for upholding the river banks.

IV *Rasūm-i Nazrāt*: A commission of ten annas per mil, for the head peon as the treasure he brought from the *mufaṣṣal*.

For details, Firminger, *Fifth Report from the Select Committee*, II, p. 210.

5 It was a primary unit of land-revenue administration.

6 *Risālā-i Zira'at*, ff. 6, 10, 12.

7 A village accountant or writer who was remunerated for his services by a commission of one per cent on revenues of his village. His paper containing accounts and details of fields was called *kaghaz-i khām*. Yasin's *Glossary*, B.M. MS. Add. 6603. f. 52b.

While the *patwāri* was a government officer the *gumashṭā* was the agent of the *zamindār*.

the land of these tillers in the *mufassal* every year according to the prevailing rules, and at the time of seizing the rope they accepted a certain amount as a *salāmī* (present) and granted them some concession, i.e. allowed them to hold and cultivate more land than was actually shown in official papers.¹

III *Ri'aya-i Paikāshī*²

The peasants who had their residence in one village but moved to take up land for cultivation in a different village were called *ri'aya-i Paikāshī*. They paid the revenue on the basis of cultivation along with the amount under the head of *mathūt* as was prevalent instead of *abwāb*.³ They were not required to pay new *mathūt* known as *mathūt-dari*.

1 *Risālā-i Zira'at*, f. 10.

2 "The vagrant reiats," wrote Warren Hastings, "have it in their power in some measure to make their own terms with the *zamindārs*. They take land at an under-rent, and hold it for one season: the *zamindār* then increases their rent or exacts more from them than their agreement, and the reiats, either desert, or, if they continue, they hold their land at a rent lower than the established rent of the country." *Fifth Report*, Vol. I, P. L.

3 *Abwābs* meant cesses or imposts. "This term is particularly used to distinguish the taxes imposed subsequently to the establishment of the *ausil*, or original standard rent, in the nature of the additions there to." *The Fifth Report*, Vol. III, *Glossary*, P.I. The *abwāb-i-subedāri* were variously designated as after the names of governors who had introduced them. They were first started by Murshid Quli Khan (Ja'afar Khan) and properly established by Shuja'-ud Daulah, but 'Aliwardi Khan added to this list a few more like Maratha *chauth*. Some of these *abwābs* (cesses) were:

I *Khas Navasi*, "It was a *rusūm* or fee exacted from the *zamindārs* at the renewal of their annual leases by the *khāliṣa mutsaddis* or the accountants of the Revenue Department."

II *Rasūm Ghettary*, "It was a duty on bale goods exported from the custom-house of Chunacally in the city of Murshidabad."

III *Nazranah Muqqurrāh*, "Or fixed pecuniary acknowledgements paid by the *zamindārs*" on various accounts including the charge of presents sent to the Royal Court on the occasions of two Eids (*Eidein*).

IV *Faujdāri Abwāb*, "These were permanent assessments on the land levied by the *faujdārs* within their jurisdictions in the distant frontier districts."

V *Mathūt Feelkhanā*, "It was a partial contribution to defray the expense of feeding the elephants of both the governor and the *diwān* of Bengal."

For a detailed discussion of the *abwābs* and amount collected under this head, *The Fifth Report*, II, pp. 208-47.

IV *Kaljana*

He was a peasant who cultivated the field of other peasants (*ri'ayā*).¹ At most places in the *mufassal*, the peasants according to the prevailing practice, would not cultivate the land next year if they had tilled this season. But many of them were not in a position, due to want of means, to raise crops in the following year; and as they established new settlements in different villages, the land so abandoned, therefore, became desolated and decayed. Under such conditions the documents containing details of *hast-o-būd*² of *parganās* having fixed revenues could not be prepared which would indicate what deficiency had occurred in the second year.³

REVENUE OFFICERS IN THE PARGAN

The following officers were engaged in the process and administration of revenue-collection. The *zamindār* and *ta'alluqdār* included in the list were government officers responsible for collections and remittances of state revenues. These officers were as follows:

(1) *Zamindār*⁴

1 *Risālā-i Zirāt*, f. 6.

2 *Hast-o-būd jama'* was a comparative account of the former and actual source of revenue. It was also a method of assessment that involved the inspection of standing crops and estimate of the produce they would yield at the time of harvest. Yasin has defined it as whatever produce in agriculture existed at the time of assessment. *Glossary*, f. 84b.

3 *Risālā-i Zirāt*, f. 11.

4 For a detailed discussion of *zamindārs* under the Mughals, Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 137-59. S. Nurul Hasan, *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian Society*, ed. R.E. Frykenberg, pp. 24-29; also his article, "Three Studies of Zamindāri System," in *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, 'Aligarh, 1969, Vol. I, pp. 233-39. From a perusal of the *Persian Revenue Records* (Add. 65-86) it appears that the revenue settlement was made with the *zamindārs* and the cases in which revenues were farmed out were few and far between. The settlement was annually effected at a festival called *puniya* and the *zamindārs* who engaged for the collection were required to submit a written undertaking (*muchalkā*) which contained conditions regarding the maintenance of law and order and protection of the peasants f. 54a. The *zamindārs* paid the revenues in instalments as specified in written agreements signed by them. Big and small *zamindārs* of Burdwan, Rajshahi, Dania, Nadiya, Ruknupur and Lakharpur paid revenues according to this system. In the *mahals* where *zamindārs* failed to realise dues in full and accomplish the work satisfactorily, *muta'ahhid* and *sazawāls* were appointed by the *diwān* to perform this function. They also gave written undertakings for payment of instalments under their seals and signatures f. 55a. "The revenue settlement of the territory (*mulk*) of Bengal was made in this manner. After setting apart *jagirs* assigned in lieu of salaries to the governor himself, provincial *diwān*, *bakhshi* of the Empire, other *mansabdārs*, etc., the personnel of the artillery and navy, and defraying the expenses of elephant catching operations and *sitalpāti* for the despatch to

(2) *Ta'alluqdār*,¹ (3) *Shiqdār*,² who was in charge of four to five villages⁽⁴⁾ *Tarafdar*,³ also known as *ehtamāmdār*; he had under his charge one or more than one village but not more than four villages. (5) *Patwāri* or *gumashṭā*, he supervised the revenue affairs of one *mauza*⁴. He was also known as *karmchari*. (6) *Mandal* or headman, his duty was to watch and protect four to five houses of the peasants in the *parganā*. (7) *Piyādā*,⁴ who acted as the watchman of the *mauza*⁵ and collected revenues from it. (8) *Rastgīr*, one who measured the land.⁵

the Emperor, all the remaining *mahals* of the *shabah* were designated as *khaliṣa* while *mahals* assigned in lieu of salary to many *mansabdārs* of *shabah* Bengal during the tenure of former governors were included in the *khaliṣa* after making their salaries a charge on the revenues of Orissa.” f. 54a.

- 1 In the *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal*, a *ta'alluqdār* has been defined as the owner (*mālik*) of ten to fifteen *mauza*'s which may be found in every *parganā*, but even if he held more or less than this number he was still a *ta'alluqdār*. Whoever held the land whether ten *bigha*, half village, one village (*deh*), hundred villages or a *parganā*, was a *zamindār*. The difference between the *zamindār* and *ta'alluqdār* was not according to the meaning of the *zamindārī* but according to the status, resources and honour. f. 123a. Khwaja Yasin has defined the term in detail and introduced various categories of *ta'alluqdār*. (1) A poor land-holder, who could not discharge his responsibilities, handed over his holding to a powerful person and settled with him his own share in the income from the area, such a person was called *ta'alluqdār*; (2) or, one who conveyed his plight to the government that he held small area in *zamindārī*, and other small *zamindārs* having learnt of his condition undertook to pay revenues (*mālguzārī*) on his behalf; (3) also, one who paid the assessed revenue of few *mauza*'s in which there were some other shareholders, and none of them held the *mauza*'s entirely under his charge (*dar-o-bast*), they were called *ta'alluqdārs*; (4) and any person who had purchased few *mauza*'s and his *zamindārī* was not old was also a *ta'alluqdār*. The difference between the *ta'alluqdār* and *zamindār* was as follows:

One who himself was a *zamindār* and took up the responsibility of payment of revenues on behalf of other *zamindārs* was a *zamindār*, and one who was not an old *zamindār*, and had not been appointed by the government but he only purchased some *mauza*'s was called *ta'alluqdār*. *Glossary*, ff. 54, 55.

- 2 *Shikdār* was a subordinate officer working under ‘āmil, *Riyāz-us Salātin*, p. 252. For details regarding the functions and powers of *shikdār*, see my article, *Documents Relating to Pargana Administration in the Deccan under Āṣaf Jah I*, *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, Aligarh, Vol. III, pp. 156-58.

- 3 *Ehtamāmdār* received his remuneration in cash and was a government servant. *Bengal Persian Revenue Records*, f. 115. “The *Ehtamāmdār* is also generally a cultivator but he enjoys the same power as the *ta'alluqdār* of granting permanent leases to under *riyats*.” *Land Systems of British India*, II, p. 557. *Tarafdar* is derived from the Urdu word *taraf*.. on the part of.. a partisan. “Hence it is that each *taraf* is a mere aggregate of *ta'alluqs*, the component parts of each being scattered in different villages and different *thanas*.” p. 555,

- 4 He was deputed by the ‘āmil to collect revenues, and out of collection one-fourth was given to him under the charges of *khurāk*. *Yasin's Glossary*, Add. 6603, f. 54a.

- 5 *Risālā-i Zirāt*, f. 7.

Kharch-i Mufassal or *Kharch-i Parganā*

The expenditure incurred in connection with the collection and management of revenues in the *mufassal* or *parganā* was known by the term '*kharch*', and it was deducted from the total revenue of the *parganā*. Under this head were included the following items:

- I *Saranjām Mustājir*, or charges of the revenue-farmer. It implied payment of monthly salaries to persons employed in the '*amla*' (establishment) of the revenue-farmer.
- II *Deb Kharch*, or, expenses for the maintenance of shrines and temples and for other charitable purposes.
- III *Des Kharch*, also known as *chaklā kharch*. This included such petty items of expenditure like cost of paper, ink, repair of law court, carpet and lamp at the *ṣadar parganā* (headquarters).
- IV *Nazurāt*, (Presents). Money spent on presents offered by the revenue-farmer or *zamindār* to officers of *khālisa*, was carried to account under this head, and this expenditure included these items: (1) *Bhet* (present), (2) *Salāmī* (an offering) (3) *Dāni* (alm-giving).
- V Payment of monthly salary to the *wakil* at the *ṣadar*.
- VI Payment of rent of the house under occupation of *wakil* at the *ṣadar*.
- VII Money spent on going and coming to the headquarters by the *zamindār* and *mustājir*.
- VIII *Darbar Kharch* (Court charges) Expenses incurred by the revenue-farmer or *zamindār* in making presents to the high officials at the court, came under this category.
- IX *Sarf-i Sikka, Sud Batta Mahājanī*.¹

1 "Sarf-i Sikka was a charge or discount on the different currencies receivable at the public treasury. *Sud* meant an interest payable by the revenue-collector on account of debt he had taken from the money-lender, while *batta* was a discount on "uncurrent or short-weight rupees realised at the time of repayment of loan." H. H. Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, 68a, 469a. The *sicca* rupees were silver coins bearing the year of the king's reign and were of the weight of 10 *mashas* and 98/100 fineness. They possessed the same value as the silver they contained. "The *sicca* rupees in the first year of their coining were considered 16% better than the current rupee, i.e. 100 *sicca* rupees were equivalent to 116 current rupees." In the same proportion the value of the current rupee was reduced in the following years. The loss of weight caused by the passage of time was made good by realising a discount at a rate fixed according to the number of years. The policy of realising *batta* or discount was adopted to ensure the collection of the full value of the revenues which were assessed in terms of *sicca* rupees. For details of this system, Abdul Karim, *Murshid Quli Khan and His Times*, pp. 93-96; James Stuart, *Principles of Money Applied to the Present State of the Coin in Bengal*, pp. 15, 16; W. W. Hunter, *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 296-308, and Appendix, N.

Details of Expenses and Actual Amount Remitted to the ṣadar Treasury

The servant of the *zamindār* (*hal-shehnā*) realised one rupee as *mathūt* (imposts) according to rules in force on the basis of a permit issued by the *patwārī*, from the peasants (*ri‘ayā*) and brought the money so collected to the *patwārī* and *gumashtā*. Out of this one rupee, one and a half *anna*, meant to meet the expenses of peons (*piyadgān*), court charges and presents (*nazurāt*), the details of which were many and varied from *parganā* to *parganā*, were given to the *patwārī* and *ṭarafdar* for the expenditure incurred under the head of their personal expenses; while the remaining fourteen and half *annas* were remitted to the *ṣadar* (head-quarters) treasury either by the *zamindār* or the revenue-farmer. At the *ṣadar* nearly five and half *annas*, under the head of *parganā* expenditure, was deducted for the payment of commission (*mashaherā*) to the *zamindār*, and about nine *annas* were deposited in the central treasury. If the *mutaṣaddī* (the accountant) was honest he would deposit the full amount according to the invoice (*chalān*), otherwise the *wakīl* at the *ṣadar* would send a certain sum (in the form of bribe) out of the amount to the *mutaṣaddī* and thus misappropriated some portion of money. The invoice was changed and the remaining amount was recorded in the *siyaha* (ledger) of the treasury. In this manner the extent of such kind of misappropriation and embezzlement on account of the carelessness of the *mutaṣaddī* can be very well imagined. The subordinate officers of the *khalīṣā* and *nizamāt*, the agents of *qanungoes* and other servants took the lands in villages by the consent of their holders but more by means of manipulation and oppression. Most of such revenue authorities struck off their holdings (*ta‘alluqa*) from the rent-roll (*jama‘-i-ṭumārī*)¹ of one

1 The author of *Risālā-i Zira‘at* (f. 15) writes that in the reign of Akbar, Todarmal made assessment of all the *mahals* of the *subahs* in the Empire, which differed in many respects according to prevailing practices in *parganā* and by taking into consideration points of view of the people. This assessment is in operation till today and is called *jama‘-ṭumārī* (the record of the assessed revenue). After that no such competent and far-sighted *mutaṣaddī* came to office who would have again assessed all the *mahals* by measurement and fixed the *jama‘* of all *parganās*. At present the *zamindārs* pay the revenues to the authorities on the basis of this old *jama‘-ṭumārī*, but they realise the income from their estate and collect the land-revenue (*hāl-i haśil*) by actual assessment. “The amount actually assessed on land was called *jama‘-i-tashkhiṣ* which usually exceeded the *jama‘-ṭumārī* many times more and there was scarcely a place in Bengal where it was less than the latter.” Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 178. This statement regarding the difference between *Jama‘-ṭumārī* and *Jama‘-i-tashkhiṣ* is collaborated by the evidence contained in *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal*, (Add. 6586) f. 53a. For the definition of these two terms, Yasin’s *Glossary*, Add. 6603, ff. 57, 58. About the actual position of *Jama‘-ṭumārī* Warren Hastings writes, “The ancient *Tumar* and *Taksim* or distribution of the land-rent, which was formed about 220 years ago, has long ceased to serve as a rule. Under

parganā. They collected revenues from lands thus excluded and indicated the loss in the account of rents of that *parganā*. Moreover, they kept their own lands in a state of prosperity by reducing the rent and granting concessions to the cultivators, whereas every other *parganā* due to enhanced revenues and additional imposts (*mathūt*) was on the verge of ruin.¹

USURY IN THE MUFASSAL

The author has also discussed the factors responsible for the prevalence of the pernicious evil of usury in the villages and *parganās* which had adversely affected the economic interests of the peasants, revenue-farmers and *zamindārs*.² The peasants who fell in debt were brought to that condition because of the exaction of land-revenue, additional and excessive imposts (*mathūt*), death of their bullocks, wedding expenses and money spent in mutual disputes. In the *mufassal* often there were *faqirs* (*sanyāsīs*) and musketeers from Buxur who were engaged in the business of money-lending. They gave loans on the condition of interest at the rate of half anna per rupee, in addition to *salāmī* (offering) and obtained from the borrower a written undertaking (*tamasuk*) for the payment of debt in two or three months. Of the amount given on loan, each rupee was less in weight by more than one *pie*, but at the time of repayment one *pie* per rupee was deducted as discount although the money received by the money-lender was of good quality. Thus he was able to gain a net profit of more than two *annas* per rupee every month. In case the peasant failed to pay the debt within the fixed time, the money-lender would increase pressure on the debtor, and, having arbitrarily combined the principal (*aṣal*) and accumulated interest, he would fix the total sum as the principal money and secure fresh undertaking for its repayment. In short, the money-lender earned compound interest which in consequence proved disastrous to the peasants. If the money-lender promised to give money on the condition of receiving it back in

the old government, this distribution was annually corrected by the accounts, which the *zamindārs* and other collectors of revenue were bound to deliver into the office of the Canongoes, or King's registers, of the increased or diminished rents of their lands and of the amount of their receipt to. But (many developments) have totally changed the face of the country and render the *Tumār* rent-roll a mere object of curiosity. The land-tax has, therefore, been collected for these twenty years upon a conjectural valuation of the land, formed by the amount of the receipts of former years, and the opinions of the officers of the Revenue, and the assessment has accordingly been made almost every year." *Fifth Report*, Vol. I, Introduction,

p. xxx.

1 *Risālā-i Zirā'at*, ff. 13, 14.

2 Irfan Habib, Usury in Medieval India, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1964.

the form of grain, he would himself fix the rate of grain at the time of lending, but deduct only one and a half maund instead of two maunds, when the peasant brought his grain to him to clear off the debt. The peasant tolerated this high-handedness under compulsion.¹

The *zamindārs*, under government instructions, were required to arrange for the written security (*mālzamni*) of some banker (*mahajan*) who was entitled by law to receive a fee or commission of 5%.² The *zamindār* accordingly persuaded some banker to stand security on his behalf by offering present (*salami*) and pledging to deposit *kham* income (gross receipts) in his treasury (*kothi*). The banker sometime sent his own agent (*khazānchi*) with the *zamindār* to receive collection at the headquarters of the *chaklā*.³ For this assistance the *zamindār* became grateful and subservient to the bankers. On the one hand the banker gained profit through usury, discount, presents and the changes made in the written bond (*tamasuk*), and on the other hand, he realized the perquisites (*rasum*) of *mālzāmni*, the usury and discount under the head of *mathūt* (imposts) from the *parganā* and for this reason the helpless peasants abandoned cultivation and fled away. The banker would never advance money to the *zamindār* to clear off the balance of unpaid revenues, but went on giving him loan for two or three years so that in case of non-payment he could press for the auction of his *zamindārī* in order to recover his loan. If the *zamindār* refused to place his *zamindārī* at the public auction for sale, the banker would file a suit in the court of law for the repayment of loan, ignoring the fact that he had already earned substantial profit, through interest and discount which was equivalent to the principal amount given in loan. In this manner the appointment of *mālzāmni* provided a source of profit to the banker. The general opinion among the people was that though some bankers had engaged themselves outwardly in the business of money-lending, they had secret designs to purchase *zamindārī* by giving financial securities to the *zamindārs*.⁴

1 *Risālā-i Zirā'at*, ff. 11, 12.

2 In the *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal* (f. 57a), the *mālzamin* has been mentioned along with other revenue collectors like *tahsildars* and *sazawāls* responsible for the collection and remittance of revenues. According to the prevailing rules the *tahsildar* received two rupees per hundred and *mālzamin* three rupees and two annas per hundred as their commissions.

3 It was a territorial division but smaller in size than a *sarkār*. But in Bengal a *chaklā* was consisted of a group of *sarkārs*, and Mir Ja'afar had divided the whole province into thirteen *chaklās*. Khawaja Yasin has distinguished *chaklā* from *sarkār* by the number of *parganās* comprising each of them. The *chaklā* was a division of 21 *parganās* while *sarkār* had 60 to 70 *parganās*. *Glossary*, ff. 58a, 66b.

4 *Risālā-i Zirā'at*, ff. 20, 21.

Zamindārs and Ta'alluqdārs

Some *ta'alluqdārs*¹ who paid the land-revenue direct to the government enjoyed the position of *zamindārs*; while other *ta'alluqdārs* paid their *mal-guzāri* (land-revenue)² along with the *zamindārs*. But in the area where no *zamindār* was found, the authorities appointed *ehtamamdar* for the collection and management of revenues. If the *parganā* was big, three or four *ehtamamdar*s were appointed, and for their assistance one *shikdār* was also deputed. In the same way, if the *mauza*⁴ was big, one *patwāri* and one *gumashṭā* were entrusted with the management of revenue affairs, otherwise only one *patwāri* was considered sufficiently capable of discharging this duty. The amount of money (assessed revenues) determined the appointments of these subordinate officers in a *parganā* or *mauza*⁴ where settlement could not be affected with the *zamindārs*.³

The revenue-farmer and *zamindār* at the end of every half-yearly season levied several cesses under the head of *kharch* (expenditure incurred by them in the work of revenue-collection) so as to cover the cost of *piyadas* (peons employed by them), court expenses (*darbar kharch*), interest (*sud*) and discount (*battā*); and by showing these items of expenditure as *parganā mathūt* (imposts) realized the amount from the peasants in the *parganā*. If the *mataṣaddi* (accountant) was honest and sagacious, he would demand in accordance with the established law and usage and the dues would in no way prove a heavy burden on the cultivators,

1 "Ta'alluqdāri means *milkiyat* (the right of owner) of few *mauza*'s, and *chaudhri* on account of management (*ehtamam*) of few *ta'alluqdārs*, while *zamindāri* is the right of ownership (*milkiyat*) on *parganās* and *chaklā*. The difference between them is based on the land (*zamin*), revenue (*khirāj*) and position (*hurmat*)."

Persian Revenue Records of Bengal, f. 105.

2 Nawab Shujā'ud-din Khan, governor of Bengal, issued instructions every year to the chief *mataṣaddi* of *khālisa* to adopt measures for the increase of population and prosperity of the country. The *mataṣaddi* directed the *zamindārs* and contractors (*muta'ahhidan*) to keep villages and *parganās* under their charge (*ehtamam*) in a good condition and pay attention for the welfare of peasants. They were also asked to report to the headquarters about the occurrences in the villages. Because of those measures the country was prosperous. The settlement was made with the *zamindārs* holding *maḥals* of big, average and small areas. At the time of settlement the official document (*gistbandi*) specifying the number of instalments, the amount of revenue and the time of payment, was signed by the *zamindārs Muta'ahhid* (contractor) and *sazawāl* (revenue-collector) who were engaged to collect the revenue from their areas. These officers were also required to give written bonds for the payment of instalments under their seals and signatures. In the *maḥals* of Burdwan, Hugli, Bir-bhom and Rajshahi which had been destroyed by the Maratha incursions, settlement was made on the basis of *hasb-ul-waṣul*. In other areas where the Maratha armies had not reached, the old mode of settlement was maintained. Persian Revenue Records of Bengal, ff. 54, 55.

3 *Risālā-i Zirāat*, f. 9.

otherwise increased revenues and additional extra cesses would have largely contributed to the fall in the state income, impoverishment of the peasantry and ruin of the village.¹

Generally the *zamindārs* received a fixed allowance (*muṣhahra*) at the rate of 10% for the services performed,² but those who refused to accept the assessment earned their income from the produce of lands called *kamhār*, *nij-jot* and *kharij jama'*.³ Most of the *zamindārs* had granted rent

1 *Risālā-i Zirāt*, f. 9.

The agrarian policy of the former governors was motivated by a desire to keep the peasants happy and contented and they always devised measures for agricultural development. During the tenure of 'Aliwardi Khan many *mahals* in the province, in consequences of the Maratha inroads and increasing state expenditure, were broken and ruined. The *mutaṣaddi* of *khāliṣa*, in order to restore the *mahals* to proper order, increase the production and improve the welfare of the public, secured the sanction of the governor for advancing money (*tagavi*) to the cultivators. He urged the *zamindārs* and *ta'alluqdārs* to exert and make efforts for cultivation before the peasants on the condition of repayment of money along with profit at the time of harvest, and took from them *tamsūk* (written bounds). The *zamindār* and *ta'alluqdār* consoled and persuaded the *ri'ayā* and for the purpose of cultivating lands, purchase of cattle and seeds gave them money according to their needs. At the time of harvest, the *zamindārs* and *muta'ahhid* collected state dues and money given in *tagavi* plus profit. The rate of the profit did not increase more than four *annas* per rupee but not less than two *annas*. In the *mahals* which had been completely ruined, no profit on the money advanced as *tagāvi* was realised. *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal*, f. 56a.

2 The *zamindārs* were responsible for the collection of land-revenue from the peasants and payment of money to the central treasury, apart from discharging various other functions connected with the maintenance of law and order within areas under their jurisdiction. In recognition of these services, they were granted a certain commission which could be paid either in the form of land or in cash. This commission was designated by the term of *nankār*, and was conditional *in lieu* of some service rendered to the government. Besides the *nankār*, the *zamindār* held revenue-free lands he had brought under cultivation, and the proceeds from which known as *mālikānā* formed another source of emoluments for him. He had proprietary rights over such lands whether or not he engaged himself for collection and remittance of land-revenue. "In this region *mālikānā* amounts to ten per cent and ten *bighās* per hundred." In Bihar the perquisites of the *zamindārs* were known by the term *nankār*. *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal*, ff. 105, 119.

3 These lands belonged to the category of *mālikānā* and the *zamindār* was entitled to appropriate the income from them. For a discussion of the terms *nankār* and *mālikānā*, Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 146. According to Yasin, *nankār* was a type of land held in *nankār* by the *zamindār*. *Glossary*, f. 77b. It was considered to be the property of the *zamindār*. "The Revenue Committee to remark that such lands have no natural tenants, and that the *zamindār* cultivates by contract, making advances to cultivators, and receiving back his advance with interest and a share in produce (one-half to two-thirds)." Baden-Powell, *Land System of British India*, I, p. 515. *Nij-jot* were private lands of the *zamindār* which he cultivated with his own labour or personal tenants, and the same as *sir* lands in other parts. This is a Hindi term equivalent of the Persian '*khud kasht*'. *Land Systems of British India*, I, pp. 515,

free lands under the category of *deotur* and *maisrān* to their brothers, relatives and dependents by issuing *sanads* to them, though in reality they appropriated the proceeds from these lands and in some cases the *zamindārs* enjoying the right to allowance were in collision with them in such transactions.¹ The *zamindārs* were usually in mutual conflicts over the issue of boundry because their estates were intermixed and on that score their relations always remained unfriendly. In areas where no officer was appointed by the government, big *zamindārs* oppressed the petty land holders and by their high-handedness disrupted the management of small estates belonging to the latter. The victims of their rapacity consequently submitted petitions in the court of a high official. In case the two *zamindārs* of equal strength and resources were involved in a dispute, they attacked each other with their respective troops and such armed clashes between them resulted in the ruin of peasants and desolation of *parganā*.² Even the official intervention sought by the parties

308. Yasin has defined *kharij jama'*, as "the barren land where grass is grown and no cultivation is done, and it is not included in the *jama'* (rent-roll) of the *mahal*." *Glossary*, f. 60a. In Bengal the term used for alienated lands in general was *kharij jama'* or the land-revenue, entirely separated from and struck out of the original rent-roll (*jama'*). It was divided into two categories: *chakran* and *ba'z-i-zamin*. *Chakran*, as the word implies, included territorial assignments made for the expenses of servants, necessarily employed in the revenue department, while "*ba'z-i-zamin* signified all kinds of alienated lands for the charitable support of Brahmins, with the whole religious establishment of Hindus." *The Fifth Report*, II, pp. 268-70.

1 Formerly the right to confer revenue-free grants for charitable purposes rested with the sovereign, but in the decline of the Mughal Empire "not only such grants were multiplied, but a great many of them were made by subordinate officials" including the *zamindārs*, who had no real authority for making such grants. Rent-free lands were given under different denominations indicating the class to which the grantee belonged. For instance, the grants under the head of *deotur* were meant for the expenses incurred on the deities or idols, while grants under the name of *maisran* were reserved for the maintenance of shrines and temples, For details, *Land Systems of British India*, II, pp. 423-28; *The Fifth Report*, II, pp. 268-69, The *Zamindārs* who failed to pay state-dues and extend cultivation were removed from service and their estates were brought under control for auction. The authorities sent *muta'ahids* and *sazawāls* to the *mufaṣṣal* and resumed lands called *kamhār* and *chakran* which these *zamindārs* held, leaving to them only revenue-free holdings...such as *deotur*, *brhomotur* and *La-khiraj*. In case some surplus amount, after deducting state dues, was found the authorities restored *kamhār* lands to them but only so much of land as was considered necessary for their support, but they would not give back the land if the actual produce was less than the demand itself. Some *zamindārs* who sold their *zamindāri* to others kept under possession *kamhār* and *chakran* lands. *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal*, f. 56b.

2 The big *zamindārs* of Bengal, as in other places throughout the Mughal Empire, maintained considerable number of troops at their disposal for the defence of their frontiers, preservation of peace and the expulsion of gang-robbers. "In Burdwan,

proved ineffective in resolving the conflict between them. Another cause of tension flowed from the fact that in one *zamindāri* estate there were four or five share-holders and they quarrelled on matters relating to settlement, distribution of shares and appointment of a manager for the revenue collection. The direct consequence of all these feuds, complaints, and counter-complaints was that the balance of unpaid revenues considerably increased causing great financial loss to the treasury. Some *zamindārs* of Bengal were uninformed and ignorant; if few of them possessed wisdom they indulged in luxury and for the sake of ostentation they spent money most extravagantly.¹

REVENUE-FARMING

The system of revenue-farming² (*ijarah*) which had operated in the *jāgirdāri* areas extended also to the *khāliṣa mahals*³ as a result of percepti-

for instance, the English in 1760 found three distinct establishments under the orders of the Raja. (1) A military force (*naqadi*) paid in cash from the Raja's treasury, their maintenance amounting to an annual cost of three lakhs. (2) A police force (*thanadari*). (3) A body of village watchmen and revenue-collectors maintained, as was also the *thanadari* force by assignments of land revenue-free." *The Fifth Report*, I, (Introduction) p. XLIX.

1 *Risālā-i-Zirā'at*, ff. 9, 23, 24.

2 The revenue-farming or *ijārah* was a mode of revenue settlement and collection which implied the farming out of revenues of a *mahal* or *parganā* to a person who undertook to pay the fixed amount by instalments as was stipulated in the agreement written at the time of settlement. The basis of settlement in *ijarah* system was purely speculation contrary to the established methods of assessment in *khāliṣa* lands. The *ijāradar* was authorised to assess the revenue in the *parganā* and collect the money through his own agents. But he was required to submit a written security and pay some amount in advance to the *jāgirdār* or government. Moreover, he was bound by the terms of contract to encourage agriculture, improve the condition of land and treat the peasants with kindness. He could not acquire proprietary rights in the land leased out to him or claim any thing more than his own profit. For detailed discussion of *ijārah* system, vide, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, 233-36, 277-78.

3 "Khāliṣa or *khāliṣa-i-sharifa* comprised the land and sources of revenue reserved for the imperial treasury, and the areas due for assignment, but not yet assigned in *jāgir* bore the technical name of *paibāqī*." In *khāliṣa mahals* the *zabī* system operated, according to which the land under cultivation was measured and assessment formed on the basis of *kankut* (crop-sharing) or other prevalent methods by the *amin*, while the money was collected by *karori* or *āmil* and kept in the treasury by the local treasurer called *fotadar*. During the 18th century, the area of *khāliṣa* began to shrink as the government had to assign large tracts of land in lieu of salary to an ever-increasing number of *mansabdārs*. A general violation of prescribed rules and regulations in the management of *khāliṣa mahals* was another noticeable feature which led to the loss of revenues. *Irfan Habib*, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* 185, 267.

ble decline in the central administration during the first half of the 18th century. This mode of revenue settlement and collection had been introduced in the reign of Farrukh Siyar (1712-1719) when factional politics was at its height, corruption had spread through many strata of governmental functions and the sovereign authority had been seriously challenged by the top central ministers—*wazir* and *mir bakhshi*—in their attempts at assuming absolute control of the state. Under these conditions the power structure became loose and disorganized, and consequently unfit to cope with the exacting task of superintendence and control of revenue-administration. Saiyid 'Abdullah Khan, the *wazir* of Farrukh Siyar, was so much entangled in court intrigues that he could hardly spare any time to attend to the complex problems connected with the revenue settlement and collection. Moreover, he wanted to gain the good-will of revenue-farmers, bankers and their agents who would eventually emerge as a new class to claim special interests in the land. Thus, considerations of both expediency and policy dictated the adoption of a course that was to secure payment of stipulated amount in time and save all the trouble not only making detailed assessment of the cultivated land but also exercising real control on the local revenue machinery. The *wazir*, therefore, entrusted the work of revenue collection to the highest bidders instead of officers employed for the purpose in the *khāliṣā* lands. "Whenever he appointed an 'amil,'" writes the court historian, "a contract was written and the stipulated amount was realized from his bankers. After giving an undertaking, the revenue-farmer increased the assessment in order to obtain a substantial margin of profit, and ruthlessly exploited the peasantry."¹ The emperor expressed strong disapproval of this novel practice and instructed the *wazir* to abolish it. He laid down that the assessment should be made by the *amīn* (assessor) and revenue officers should collect the money direct from cultivators. But the *wazir* did not comply with the orders, and continued giving the *khāliṣā parganās* on *ijārah*.² He acquired through this channel lakhs of rupees, writes another contemporary historian.³

Beyond this brief information the chroniclers have recorded no details regarding the extent of *khāliṣā* area brought under *ijārah*, the social position of revenue-farmers and the manner by which management of lands was handed over to them. However, it appears that revenue-farming became a recognized practice in due course and in its effect proved disastrous both to peasantry and public exchequer; for, Nizām-ul Mulk, the new *wazir*, insisted on its abolition as a necessary measure to

¹ Yahyah Khan, the *mir munshi* in the court of Farrukh Siyar, *Tazkirat-ul Muluk*, India office, Ethe, 409, f. 123.

² *Tazkirat-ul Muluk*, 123.

³ Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul Lubab*, p. 773.

bolster up the financial position of the government. But his resignation ended all prospects of improvement in the working of the revenue administration.¹ Between the departure of Nizām-ul Mulk from Delhi and the invasion of Nadir Shah, the Mughal Empire had passed through the most crucial period of its history. During these years, the Maratha incursions and the upsurge of other regional forces had sapped the inner strength of the Empire and buffeted its administrative organization. Not only a large number of *jagirdārs* had perforce leased out the revenues of their *mahals*, but even the government, from want of capacity to defend *khāliṣa* territories, delegated its functions of land management to such chieftains who commanded influence on local *zamindārs* and peasants. For instance, 'Ali Amjad Khan Koka,² unable to obtain revenues through his own agents, gave his *jāgir* in *parganā* Alwar on farm to Raja Jai Singh Sawai early in 1725.³ The Mughal government farmed out to the Raja in 1728, the revenues of *subah* Ajmer(excluding the *haveli*) for one year on payment of Rs. 1,75,000. Later, the Raja acquired the right to collect land revenue from Sambhal and Didwana under a similar arrangement. In 1734 the Raja secured the *faujdari* of Ranthambor on *ijārah* for Rs. 31,300.⁴ The farming out of *jāgir* and *khāliṣa* lands to 'Ali Muhammad Khan,⁵ who had firmly established his position as a powerful overlord in Kathier, offers an illustration to argue that such revenue arrangements were formed mainly in areas where maintenance of imperial authority had been rendered impossible by the Maratha raids and local disturbances. In the imperial territories still unaffected by the Maratha predatory activities or internal warfare, the policy of letting revenue demand competitively had not been adopted and the well-known patterns of assessment and collection continued to operate there. Harcharan Das states that in the environs of the capital and the *mahals* of Meerut, comprising the province of Delhi, assessment was fixed on the basis of measurement and crop-sharing by the official agencies.⁶ The system of *ijārah* does not appear to have been extended to *khāliṣa mahals* in the provinces of Allahabad and Awadh. The *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal* and the Report of Ray-i Raiyan composed before 1772, yielded ample evidence to show that in the eastern provinces of the Empire the

1 *Muntakhab-ul Lubab*, II, p. 951.

2 A *mansabdār* of 5,000/5,000 'Ali Hāmid Khān was the superintendent (*darogha*) of Faiz Canal and Dak, and also *faujdar* *gard* of Delhi. Muhammad Khan Ashub, *Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukh Siyar wa Julus-i-Muhammad Shah*, f. 46.

3 V. S. Bhatnagar, *Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh*, S. P. Gupta, *Ijarah System in Eastern Rajasthan, Medieval India—A Miscellany*, II, pp. 263-74.

4 For details, *Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh*, pp. 275-77.

5 Mustajab Khan, *Gulistan-i Rahmat*, f. 17; Muhammad Raza Khan, *Akhbar Hasan*, p. 17; *Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad*, pp. 319, 349.

6 *Chahargulzar-i Shuja'i*, pp. 55-56.

*zabīt*¹ system of assessment and collection had existed and the revenue-farming had not been introduced in the *khāliṣa mahals*.² The account contained in this source of information conveys the impression that the central government exercised an effective control over the local revenue administration. The records state:

Before the invasion of Nadir Shah (1739), the appointment of 'āmils for the management of the *khāliṣa* and *paibāqi mahals* was recommended by the *diwan*. At the time of assessment and collection, the agents (*gumashṭā-hai*) of *waqā'i-nigār*,³ *sawaneh-nigār*⁴ and *harkāra*⁵, appointed and posted directly by the Emperor, went with the 'āmils to their respective *mahals*. These news-writers recorded proceedings with regard to assessment and collection and daily events pertaining to political and agrarian matters. They despatched their reports every week by *dak* (post office) to the imperial court. The reports were then placed before the Emperor who for administrative needs of the country issued orders to the governor and *diwān* of the province. In the *mahals*, directly governed by the centre, assessment was fixed on the basis of *pattiā* and the customary cesses (*abwāb*) were levied in addition to revenue demand. Under the system of *bhavoli*⁶ every cultivated field was measured by *jarīb* for every kind of crop, and after making deductions for the loss caused by drought or floods, the heap grain was weighed and later divided into two parts. The cultivators secured their own share in accordance with the practice in force at that time in the *mufaṣṣal*, while the remaining portion of the produce that belonged to the government was often sold out to the trustworthy *ra'iyat* or bankers according to the prevailing rates. In some *mahals* the assessment was determined by the method of *danā-bandī*,⁷ and *jama'bāndī*⁸ was accord-

1 It implied measurement of cultivated land as well as assessment based upon it.

2 *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal*, Add. 6586, f. 164. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 223.

3 *Waqā'i nowīs*, or news-writer gathered information through his own agents from all quarters and transmitted it to the royal court. He posted his assistants in the departments of the *nazīm*, *diwān*, *saujdār* and *qāzī*; and they brought reports about the daily proceedings and occurrences to him.

4 He was a secret reporter mainly responsible for collecting the news and transmitting them to the imperial headquarters.

5 A courier, a spy.

6 It was a method of assessment based on actual division of crops or produce.

7 "Under *danā bandī* or *kankut* the land was first measured, and then the yield of each crop per unit of area (i.e. the crop-rate) was estimated and applied to the whole area under the crop. The important feature of this method was that the demand was primarily assessed not in cash, but in kind." Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 199.

8 It denoted the estimated revenue from all the sources of income of a *mahal*. A regis-

ingly formed. Settlement for collection was made with 'āmils, contractors (*muta'ahidiyan*) and *zamindārs*.¹

The invasion of Nadir Shah shattered the military power of the Empire, tore the texture and the tint of its institutions and gave rise to forces of disintegration. The central government, shorn of strength, failed to enforce its authority in the provinces and revamp the revenue administration at local levels. The governors exploited the new situation to take possession of *khāliṣā* and *paibāqi mahals* and establish their direct jurisdiction over channels through which revenues in the preceding decades had flowed to the central treasury. The imperial officers directly responsible for collection and remittance of state dues were replaced by the provincial revenue collectors, and the governor took up the responsibility of remitting the money from the *khāliṣā mahals* to the court. Even so, the governor retained the old pattern of settlement with the *zamindārs* and 'āmils and flinched from resorting to the practice of *ijārah* in the *khāliṣā* area.² About the province of Bengal the same source of information records:³

For in the past the system of *ijārah* was unknown, instead crop-sharing on the basis of *qul-o-qarar*⁴ was in vogue. According to this method, the government collected its share through *karori* while the remaining part of the produce was left with the peasants. When this method of assessment, based on justice and equity was given up, the practice of *ijārah* which meant the sale of the *ra'iyat* came into force and lands were farmed out to 'āmils (revenue-collectors).

The above description, however, furnishes no clue to the question as to when the revenue-farming became dominant form of revenue assessment and collection in the *khāliṣā mahals* of the eastern provinces and other parts of the Empire. But it may be assumed that the system spread widely in Bengal, as elsewhere, when after 1757 the central authority

ter showing the name of the cultivator, his tenure, quality of his land, its extent, the rate per *bigāh* and the total rent formerly paid to the *zamindārs*, *Wilson's Glossary*, 228a.

1 *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal*, f. 71a.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, f. 120.

4 "When the revenue had been assessed, the authorities issued a written document called *patti*, *qaul* or *qaul-qarar*, setting out the amount or rate of the revenue demand. At the same time, the assessee gave, in acknowledgement, his *qabuliyat*, or acceptance, of the obligation imposed upon him, stating when and how he would make the payments." Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 197.

had paralysed and local administration completely broken down. In this state of instability and confusion, the revenue-farming was resorted to by the powers that would be as convenient device to plunder and wring the utmost out of the cultivators.¹ The Rohilla chiefs had made revenue-farming the corner-stone of their agrarian administration. They assigned revenues of lands under their control to the highest bidders for a period of ten years.² Before the close of the 18th century, this pernicious system had become rampant in the region of Rohilkhand and parts of Allahabad and Awadh, and produced adverse effects on the growth of agriculture and the economic condition of the peasantry.³

The author of *Risālā-i Zirā'at* has classified the revenue-farmers into three categories and dealt with the process of their appointment and mode of their functioning as revenue-assessors and collectors. His account of the *ijāradāri* system gives some glimpses in the agrarian conditions prevailing in the countryside of Bengal before 1772.

(1) A person who wanted to work as a *mustājir* (revenue-farmer) first gathered information about *hast-o-būd* (comparative rent-roll) of the *mufassal* and made yearly increase in the revenue demand by means of conjectural estimate. He then submitted the application to the governor

1 The constant political changes that large parts of Northern India underwent during the second half of the 18th century precluded the establishment of an ordered polity and well-organised administration. In this state of flux the forms of land-tenures considerably changed and agriculture suffered, resulting in the hardships of the peasantry. The case of the district of Kanpur offers an illustration which may serve as an index to the study of political and economic conditions prevailing in several other parts of the country. "From A.D. 1737 to 1752 the district (Kanpur) or considerable portion of it, was in the hands of Muhammad Khan Bangash of Farrukhabad; in 1753 he gave way to the Marathas, who continued in possession till the end of 1760; in 1760 the authority of the Nawab of Farrukhabad was restored, and remained in force till the middle of 1770, when it was again superseded by that of the Marathas, who, in 1773, were finally expelled by Shujā'-ud Daulah, under whom and his successors the district remained till cession (1801)." *Land System of British India*, II, p. 12.

2 *North-Western Province Gazetteer*, IX, pp. 30-31.

3 Criticising the system, the compilers of the Ray Raiyan's report state: "Giving lands on *ijārah* meant the sale of the country and the peasants.... The 'āmils to whom the lands were farmed out, insisted that the Government would not take notice of complaints made by the revenue-payers and peasants against them. He himself witnessed that hundreds of peasants with their families came to submit petitions against the 'āmils but no one in the government tried to redress their grievances." *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal*, ff. 121, 122. Warren Hastings wrote on farming the system in 1772, "I found the farming system already established throughout the country. All the orders of the company, all without exception, enjoined it. I made it general and received their commendation. I lengthened the period of the leases which was before annual to five years." *The Economic History of Bengal*, II, p. 71.

who, taking all necessary factors into consideration, issued the *sanad* for his appointment. If the revenue-farmer was competent and honest, he, after the settlement, proceeded direct to the *mufassal*, obtained papers of *hast-o-būd* of three years, assessed the land-revenue on their basis, and levied cesses under the usual head of village expenses (*khārīch-deh*), the details of which have been mentioned above. By adopting such a judicious policy the *mustājir* (of this category) succeeded in maintaining the old and new settlements. For his own profit he would try to discover such lands which could be brought under cultivation, and in this connection he would also obtain reports from the *patwāri* and *gumashtā*. After examining the *khasra*¹ papers of the *mauza*² he earmarked a certain sum for his own profit. Besides, he realised money under the head of *jarimana* (fines) but did not impose new imposts (*mathūt*). Such measures contributed to the prosperity and happiness of the *ri'ayā* (peasants). But revenue-farmers of this kind were rare in those days.²

(2) The revenue-farmer (*mustājir*) of the present day did not strive to collect complete information of *hast-o-būd*, though they possessed experience and skill in matters of revenue-administration. Influenced by the statements of selfish advisers or motivated by the spirit of competition, the revenue-farmers made wild bids on the basis of mere speculation. If one of them wrote an application promising to collect five thousand rupees, another would offer to pay six thousand rupees. Since the authorities of the present day were more interested in their own gains than the full realisation of dues, they failed to understand that the *mustājir* would not be able to pay such an increased amount of revenue as offered by him. In order to win the favour of their master, the officers concerned would present the application of the *mustājir* who had made the highest bid, and the governor, being impressed with mere enhancement of revenue on paper, would issue *sanad* for settlement of land with that person. Soon after the issuance of *sanad* and *parwānā* the officers began to press the *mustājir* for payment of the first instalment of the stipulated amount. With anxiety and haste the *mustājir* went to the *mufassal* and examining the records of *hast-o-būd* of three to four years he discovered a huge loss in his undertaking which greatly disturbed him.

For a discussion of the evil consequences of *ijārah* system in the ceded and conquered provinces, Imtiaz Hussain, *Land Revenue Policy in North India*, Delhi, 1967, p. 14. Shah Wali-ullah in a letter addressed to the king pleaded, "the practice of *ijārah* should be abolished from the *khāliṣa* lands. Honest and experienced *amins* should be appointed everywhere. Under the *ijārah* system the country is ruined and the condition of *ra'iyyat* becomes deplorable and wretched." K. A. Nizami, *Siyasi Maktubat of Shah Wali-ullah*, p. 43.

¹ A field book of the village containing map and other particulars.
² *Risālā-i-Zīra'at*, f. 14.

Caring little for the ruin and desolation of the *parganā*, the *mustājir* resorted to measurement and usurpation of certain lands belonging to the *zamindārs* and also enforcement of new taxes under the head of *mathūt*. His harshness in collection compelled the peasants to give up cultivation and run away from the village. His main objective being extortion of money, he had neither time nor will to improve agriculture. Consequently, he failed to pay the state dues and his estate was put to auction.¹

(3) The revenue-farmers belonging to the third category possessed no information of local conditions in the village, but, being incited by their selfish advisers, aspired for the *sanad* of appointment. They raised the bid and succeeded in securing the *ijārah* of the *mahal*. The *zamindārs* considering the revenue-farmer ignorant and incompetent sought the co-operation of his officers² by offering them bribes, and earned profits. Though they destroyed the *parganā* with their own hands, the *zamindārs* sent complaints to the court against the *mustājir*, seeking redress from his oppression and demanding reduction in the assessment for the next year.³

However, the former governors had preferred the system of *ta'ahud* to *ijārah* as it worked well except when the *muta'ahhid* himself failed to discharge his duties honestly and efficiently. The *muta'ahhid* pledged to collect and remit the amount of revenue demand as specified in the agreement (*qabuliyat*) which was written by the *zamindār* and handed over to him.⁴ The *mustājir* also submitted a *muchalka* (a written bond) in the office of *diwan-i khāliṣa* who had secured the approval of the governor for settlement of land with him. According to its terms the *mustājir* was required to promote agriculture, increase the state income (*malwajib*) and refrain from imposing *mathūt* (illegal cesses) on the *parganā* to gain the margin of profit. Moreover, the *mulaṣaddi* (accountant) of *khāliṣa* in those days kept himself informed of the activities of revenue officers

1 *Risālā-i Zira'at*, ff. 16, 17.

2 The 'amlā of a revenue-farmer was generally consisted of the following officers: (1) 'āmil, (2) *Peshkār* (3) *Navisinda* (writer), (4) *Siyah Nawis* (writer of the ledger), (5) *Iltāq* (writer of letters which were sent for remitting the revenues), (6) treasurer, (7) *Saristadār Bakhshigiri* (keeper of records containing accounts of disbursements), (8) peons and troopers of *sehbandi*, *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal*, Add. 6586, f. 126a.

3 *Risālā-i Zira'at*, f. 18.

4 According to Khawaja Yasin, the *mustājir* held lands which were small in area while lands under the charge of *muta'ahhid* were big. In the *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal* the *muta'ahhid* has been mentioned along with *tahsildar* and *sazawal* as a government revenue-collector. The *muta'ahhid* was paid for the expenses he incurred in maintaining *sehbandi* troops. Further, he was entitled to get remission in case of damages caused to crops by some natural calamities. But the *mustājir* did not enjoy these two special privileges. *Yasin's Glossary*, Add. 6603 f. 55; Add. 6586 f. 57a.

in the *mufassal* and reported the governor against those who levied unauthorised cesses, and such persons were severely punished after investigation.¹

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF MUTASADDI

The *mutasaddi* was the chief executive head of *khāliṣa* department in the Bengal government. He not only directed and supervised the entire management of *khāliṣa* department, but also exercised judicial authority which was though limited to cognizance of revenue suits arising from disputes between revenue-payers (*malguzārān* and cultivators, *ra'iyat*). He worked under the direct control of the governor, but in the transaction of routine business he enjoyed a measure of discretion. He held the title of Ray Raiyan and a *jāgir* in lieu of emoluments fixed by the government. He did not possess any land in *zamindāri* and *ta'alluq-dari*; nor could he lawfully claim any money in the form of presents (*salami* or *nazūrat*). The former governors did not appoint to key posts any revenue officer who held villages in *ta'alluqa*. A *mutasaddi* who accepted bribes through subordinate officers in the *mufassal* was not in a position to prevent them from extorting money as presents or misappropriating public dues. Such corrupt *mutasaddi* received eight annas as his share in one rupee collected from the village while the remaining half was kept by the local revenue-collector for his own use. Consequently, the country was ruined and arrears rose in the treasury. The governors in the past, therefore, took special care in the selection of a *mutasaddi* as the credit and strength of revenue administration depended upon his integrity and efficiency.² Able men of practical experience, possessing a thorough and comprehensive knowledge of agrarian system and belonging to respectable families were generally preferred for appointment to this office of trust and responsibility.³ Aliwardi Khan had appointed qualified and experienced *mutasaddis* from outside Bengal as most of the revenue officers were connected with local *zamindārs* by ties of family relationship.⁴ Nawab Ja'afar Murshid Quli Khan had personally conducted revenue administration, and he himself decided all revenue and civil cases. But Shujā'-ud-din Khan, owing to an increase in the weight of public business, invested the *mutasaddi* with both execu-

¹ *Risālā-i Zira'at*, f. 34.

² *Ibid.*, f. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 30.

⁴ Some of the prominent officers who came from Benaras: Maharaja Mahendar, Janki Ram, Ram Bahadur, Raja Balb, and Raja Kyret Chand, son of Alam Chand. *Ibid.*, f. 29.

tive and judicial powers, keeping in his own hands the general control and superintendence of revenue-administration.¹ This new arrangement provided relief to the governor and facilitated the regular flow of revenue business, but the extensive powers vested in the *mutsaddi* overshadowed the position of the provincial *diwan*, a significant development in the provincial revenue-administration of Bengal during the period under review.

Thus, the *mutsaddi* held in his hands the mainspring of *khālisa* administration. His jurisdiction extended to the whole field of *khālisa* administration including settlement and collection of revenues as well as the adjudication of revenue suits. The powers and functions of the *mutsaddi* have been clearly described in the *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal*. Some of the most important of these were as follows:²

- (1) He fixed the date of *puniya* and informed the revenue-payers 15 days before the ceremony which was to be held at the district headquarters (*şadar*). He also issued orders to local revenue-collectors to attend the ceremony after holding *puniya* and collecting money in the *mufassal*.
- (2) At the ceremony of *puniya* the *mutsaddi* formed settlement with *zamindārs* and contractors took security bonds and fixed the periodical instalments payable by them. He realised the public dues, demanded payment of arrears, punished the defaulters and reprimanded revenue-officers for dereliction of duties.
- (3) He made investigations into allegations made, by only such a *zamindār* who had cleared his dues, against 'amilis and *sazawals*; and in case the charges were proved he would propose to the governor for their transfer.
- (4) He appointed and dismissed 'amilis and *sazawals* of small *maḥals*, but this power in relation to officers of big *maḥals* rested with the governor.
- (5) Quick and regular disposal of petitions formed an important part of his judicial responsibilities. He was required to hold his court, called *kacheri* '*adālat nāl wa diwāni* every day, and impart justice with impartiality and care. His court took cognizance of revenue suits arising from disputes between *zamindārs* and peasants and among the cultivators themselves on boundaries. Even while on his way to some place he received petitions and without delay decided the case on the spot. His judgment was drafted by agents of *qanungo* and signed by the parties. Later on, it was sent to the governor for his approval and issuance of decrees.

1 *Persian Revenue Records of Bengal*, ff. 621, 63.

2 *Ibid.*, ff. 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 69.

- (6) He directed the *sar-rishtadars* of his department to prepare *taujih* (a description roll) on the basis of monthly instalments payable in each month. He examined every day the records, receipts of dues, balances and arrears. These papers were signed and sealed by the treasury staff and sent to the governor for his signature.
- (7) During the period of 'Aliwardi Khan a large number of *mahals* had been broken and ruined in the wake of the Maratha incursions, and heavy contributions were levied on cultivators by the provincial government to meet the expenditure of war. The *mutaṣaddi* of *khāliṣa* in order to restore the *mahals* to prosperity, increase the state income and improve the public welfare, secured the sanction of the governor for advancing loans (*taqāvi*) to the cultivators. He urged the *zamindārs* and *ta'aluqdars* to make energetic efforts for the cultivation of lands. The money was given to *zamindārs* and *ta'aluqdars* for distribution among the cultivators on condition that they will pay it back with profit at the time of harvest, and written bonds (*tamasuk*) were taken from them. They consoled and persuaded the *ri'aya* to cultivate lands and purchase cattle and seed, and distributed the money among them before the season for cultivation began. At the time of harvest, the *zamindārs* and *muta'ahhid* realised state dues as well as the *taqāvi* loan with profit. The rate of profit was not more than four annas per rupee but not less than two annas.

MARĀSILĀT-I NAJIB-UD DAULAH WA HĀFIZ
RAHMAT KHAN

IQBAL HUSAIN

A collection of 28 letters exists in the 'Abdus Salām collections of the Moulana Āzad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, entitled *Marāsilāt-i Najib-ud Daulah wa Hāfiz Rahmat Khan*.¹ The collection includes letters exchanged between the Ruhela sardārs and the Jāt rulers, Jawāhar Singh (1763-1768) and Nawal Singh (1769-1775). This collection also includes letter of Safdar Jang (1739-1754) and Shujā'-ud Daulah (1754-1775) addressed to Suraj Mal Jāt (1756-1763). These letters, though undated, are extremely important and useful for the study of relationship that existed between these chieftains and the assessment of the contemporary political conditions in Northern India during the 18th century.

The manuscript was transcribed for 'Abdus Salām Khan from an old and worn out text, written in the *shikasta* style, which has many errors and lacks proper arrangement. These letters provide us with information regarding some controversial problems and give an insight into the diplomatic manoeuvring followed by the leading personalities of the period. Their careful study will help a student of the 18th century history to examine the well-known facts and question some of the data furnished by the chronicles and hitherto accepted by the scholars.

The first letter of the series, our Document 'A' was written by Safdar Jang to Suraj Mal in 1750-1751. Safdar Jang, in order to increase his military strength to launch expedition against Ahmad Khan Bangash to avenge his earlier defeat, was anxious to secure the support of the Marathas and the Jāts.² For the purpose he had sent Raja Ram Nārāyan,³ who ultimately won the Jāt support by offering to pay Suraj Mal

1 For life and career of Najib-ud Daulah, see Nuruddin, *Tārikh-i Najib-ud Daulah*, BM., 24410; Bihari Lal, *Ahwāl-i Najib-ud Daulah*, MS. 9, Sarkar Collection, Calcutta; Samsām-ud Daulah, *Maasir-ul Umara*, Text III, Bib. Indica, pp. 865-68 Nasir-ud Din, *Tārikh-i Nasirabad*, MS. 'Abdus Salam collection, Aligarh; *Ahwāl-i Khāndān-i Nasir-ud Daulah Marhum*, MS. 'Abdus Salam Collection, Aligarh.

2 For life and career see Mustajab Khan, *Gulistan-i Rahmat*, MS. 'Abdus Salam Collection, Aligarh; Elliot, *Hafizol Mookh Hafiz Rahmat Khan*; Altaf 'Ali, *Hayat Hafiz Rahmat Khan*; Sa'adat Yar Khan, *Gul-i Rahmat*.

3 Ghulam 'Ali, *'Imad-us Sa'adat*, Nawal Kishore, 56-57; Ghulam Husain, *Siyar-ul Mut'a'akhirin*, 881.

4 Ram Nārāyan was the son of Lachmi Nārāyan, a Khatri by caste. Ram Nārāyan was the Diwān of Safdar Jang. *'Imad-us Sa'adat*, 56. The author of *Siyar-ul Mut'a'akhirin*, 881 confuses him with Lachmi Nārāyan.

a sum of Rs. 15,000/ for his daily expenses.¹ This letter not only corroborates the Persian chronicles but also reveals the deep concern of Safdar Jang. Safdar Jang's plea for postponing his campaign due to the delay in the arrival of Suraj Mal was just a clumsy excuse as the postponement was in fact done owing to the Marathas engagements in Rajputana.²

Some modern historians have accepted the opinion of Kashi Raj and Ghulam 'Ali Khan that Shujā'-ud Daulah was persuaded by Najib-ud Daulah to join hands with Ahmad Shah Abdāli on sectarian grounds in the third battle of Panipat.³ The letter, our Document 'B' was sent by Shujā'-ud Daulah to Suraj Mal soon after Ahmad Shah Abdāli's arrival in the vicinity of Kunjpura in December,⁴ 1759. This letter written much before the embassy of Najib-ud Daulah (April-May 1760) refutes the statements of Kashi Raj, Ghulam 'Ali and denotes that the Nawab of Awadh had already made up his mind to support Ahmad Shah. He might have, however, kept his real intention a secret for political reasons till he was assured by Najib-ud Daulah about the safety of his person and possessions⁵ against the Afghan depredations.

Document 'C' was written by Najib-ud Daulah to Jawahar Singh Jāt. The Jāt Chief was greatly shocked on the death of his father Suraj Mal at the hands of the Ruhelas on December 25, 1763 on the issue of the Baluches of Farrukhnagar. To avenge the death of his father, Jawāhar Singh made elaborate preparations and also secured the Maratha support under Malhar Rao.⁶ Najib-ud Daulah at the time was hard pressed on account of court intrigues and the growing danger from the Sikhs. He considered it more diplomatic to persuade his Jāt ally to desist from a war by making his position clear. This letter also corroborates the acco-

¹ *Siyar-ul Mutakhirin*, 881.

² *Selections from the Peshwa Daftari*, Vols. II, No. 31 and XXI, No. 40.

³ Hari Ram Gupta, *Marathas and Panipat*, 136-37; Sarkar, J. N., *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 195-99; Srivastava, A. L., *Shujā'-ud Daulah*, Agra, 1961, 80-83; Ganda Singh, *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, Bombay, 1959, 240-43; Shejwalkar, *Panipat 1761*, Poona, 1946, 38. 'Imad-us Sa'adat, 79-80; Kashi Raj, *Ahwāl-i Jang Bhau wa Ahmad Shah*, MS. Rampur, 349-50.

⁴ For details see Bihari Lal, *Ahwāl-i Najib-ud Daulah*, tr. Sarkar, J. N., *Islamis Culture*, 6; Shiv Prasad, *Tarikh-i Farah Bakhsh*, MS. Aligarh, f. 51 b; *Gulistan-i Rehmat*, f. 87 b; *Tarikh-i Najib-ud Daulah*, ff. 280-90.

⁵ Shujā'-ud Daulah's shrewdness may be judged from the fact that he kept the Marathas in deception till the last moment on this occasion, see *Rajvade*, I, 227 and 236.

⁶ *Tarikh-i Najib-ud Daulah*, ff 100b-109a; *Selections from the Peshwa Daftari*, XXIX, No. 58, 73, 85, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 336, 341. It is interesting to note that Malhar Rao is said to have not been sincere in his assignment. He had a paternal love for Najib-ud Daulah and had accepted the Jat offer only for money. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 290-95.

unts of the Persian chronicles and shows the concern of Najib-ud Daulah for averting a confrontation with the Jāt Chief.

Document 'D' is a letter written by Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khan to Nawāl Singh Jāt and Document 'E' is a reply from the Jāt Chief to Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khan. These letters were exchanged between them towards the closing days of 1769 when Ram Chandra Ganesh, Taku ji Holkar and Mahadeo ji Sindhiā were marching towards the north under the Peshwa's orders.¹ At the time all the important powers of the north, viz. the Jāts, the three factions of the Ruhelas (under Najib-ud Daulah, Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khan and Dundey Khan), the Sikhs and Shujā'-ud Daulah were either engaged in fighting or were hostile to each other, causing a general disorder in Punjab and in the central and upper Gangetic Doab. As far as the Ruhelas were concerned, they lacked unity; and their strength as a body was fast dwindling on account of mutual distrust, rivalries and factional feuds.² Moreover, their economic position was ruined by the Sikh and Jāt raids.³ Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khan, the writer of this letter (Document 'D') and Dundey Khan had received Etawa and Shikohabad from Ahmad Shah Abdālī for their services in the third battle of Panipat.⁴ These districts had been in Maratha possession till the new arrangements were made by the Afghan King. The Maratha penetration into the north had naturally caused an alarm among the Ruhela Sardars. Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khan and Dundey Khan made vigorous efforts to raise a confederacy consisting of the Jāts, the English and the Nawab Wazir Shujā'-ud Daulah.⁵ The letter yields first hand information about the political situation of the time, the mutual dissensions that existed between the Indian chiefs, the financial distress⁶ of the Ruhelas and their inability to maintain large troops.

¹ Muzaffar 'Ali, *Tārikh-i Muzaffari*, MS. 'Aligarh, ff. 185 ab; Hamilton, *History of the Rohilla Afghans*, 1787, 162; *Imad-ud Sa'adat*, 104; Khwaja Bashir, *Masvida Tārikh-i Rampur*, MS. 'Aligarh, ff 249 ab; Tahmasp Miskin, *Tazkirah*, MS. 'Aligarh, f 76 25; Sarkar, *Persian Records of Maratha History, Delhi Affairs*, Bombay, 1953, 21.

² *Persian Records of Maratha History, Delhi Affairs*, 27; *Foreign Department Secret Committee Proceedings*, 7 August, 1770, National Archives, New Delhi, 678.

³ *Tārikh-i Najib-ud Daulah*, ff 100-109 b; *Selections from Peshwa Daftari*, XXIX, 92, 128. By January, 1770, Zabita Khan is reported to have paid rupees one lakh to the Sikhs for quitting his country. For details see *Foreign Department Secret Committee Proceedings*, 22 January, 1770, National Archives, New Delhi, 53.

⁴ *Gulistan-i Rahmat*, f. 105 a; Wali-ullah, *Tārikh-i Farrukhabad*, MS. 'Aligarh, 76; The author of *Tārikh-i Farah Baksh*, f. 62 b says that Shikohabad was assigned to Wali-ullah Khan by Ahmad Shah Abdālī.

⁵ *Foreign Department Secret Committee Proceedings*, 28 September, 1770, National Archives, New Delhi, 770; Galliee to Cartier, dated 24 June, 1770, *Foreign Department Secret Committee Proceedings*, 529; Dundey Khan's letter to Galliee, *Foreign Department Secret Committee Proceedings*, dated 4 June, 1770, 444, 446, 448.

⁶ This fact is further supported by Dundey Khan's letter to Galliee. For details see *Foreign Department Secret Committee Proceedings*, June 4, 1770.

Under such circumstances, Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khan was endeavouring to secure both the economic aid as well as military alliance with the Jāt Chief. Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khan was, however, disappointed in his attempt, as the Jāt Chief, who seems to have already been won over by the Maratha diplomats on false promise, avoided to make any commitment.¹ Had Nawal Singh accepted the Ruhela's offer for an alliance, the subjugation of the Jāt territories by the Marathas and their almost un-opposed entry in the *Doab* might have not been possible in 1770.²

DOCUMENT 'A'

SAFDAR JĀNG'S³ LETTER TO SURAJ MAL JĀT⁴

My faithful and brave son,

You had promised to come to (our) presence after settling your own affairs in two months time. Much time has passed but your promise still remains unfulfilled and we are anxiously eager to meet you, specially now that the success of the Afghan campaign⁵ which we have deci-

1 Document 'E'.

2 It is interesting to note that after Marathas control over Jat territories, Nawal Singh attempted to join hands with the Ruhelas. For details see Gallicze's letter to Cartier dated 24 June, 1770, *Foreign Department Secret Committee Proceedings*, 529.

3 Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jang was the second *Nawab* of Awadh. His original name was Mirza Muhammad Muqim and he was the second son of Jāfar Beg Khan who was married to the eldest sister of Sa'adat Khan Burhan-ul Mulk, the first *Nawab* and founder of the Awadh dynasty. Mirza Muqim worked as Deputy Governor of Awadh (1724-1739) vice Sa'adat Ali Khan Burhan-ul Mulk. On Sa'adat 'Ali Khan's death, Muqim Khan succeeded him and gradually rose into prominence. He was appointed as Mir Atish by Mohammad Shah in 1743 and after the death of the latter in 1748 he became *Wazir* of the empire. For life and career see *Maasir-ul Umara*, Text I, pp. 365-68; Srivastava, *First Two Nawabs of Awadh*, Agra, 1954, pp. 85-265; Irvin, *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, pp. 55, 57, 121, 134-35, etc; *Tārikh-i Safdar Jang*, MS. Allahabad University No. 954/192.

4 For life and career see *Sujan Charitra* of Sudan, published by Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Banaras.

5 Bangash Afghans. Safdar Jang was routed by the Bangash Chief in the battle of Ram Chatuni on 23 September, 1750. For details of the battle see, *Siyar-ul Mutā'akhirin*, 878; *'Imad-us Sa'adat*, 49; *Sujan Charitra*, 89-90; *Selection from the Peshwa Daftari*, II, letter No. 2, 140, 20-21; *Wali-ullah, Tārikh-i Farrukhabad*, 'Aligarh MS. f. 137a; Mustajab Khan, *Gulistan-i Rahmat*, Aligarh MS. f. 59a; Azad Bilgrami *Khazana-i 'Amira*, Nawal Kishore, p. 81; *Tārikh-i Muzaffari* I, f. 316b; This letter seems to have been written to Suraj Mal for the proposed second campaign against the Bangash Afghan which Safdar Jang expedited with great preparations. To secure the support of Suraj Mal, Safdar Jang had sent Ram Narayan who hired

ded to launch and the improvement of the affairs of our dominion depends on your support and resourcefulness. Delay in the prompt arrival of that faithful son is a source of extreme anxiety and concern.¹ The wicked opponents, who by chance have seized the God-given dominion, have now become haughty and proud, and are busy in collecting their tribes men from far and near. Though it was resolved to immediately march but it was felt necessary to wait for you for some days more. Hence, you should come immediately without prolonging your stay there.

DOCUMENT 'B'

SHUJĀ'-UD DAULAH'S LETTER TO SURAJ MAL

Kunwar Sahib, my kind brother, may God preserve him.

The news of the march of Ahmad Shah Abdāli from Kabul, the arrival of his victorious armies in the vicinity of Kunjpura and the news of Afghan *sardars* going and joining him, should have been conveyed to you through the dispatches of your *vakils*. In the meantime I have also received a personal letter from His Majesty summoning to join his standard. In view of an imminent attack by Bhau in league with other Deccani *sardars* a sort of unity has been forged among the chiefs of (Northern India) and they all have pledged their support to the Emperor as they have agreed to fight against the Bhau. The march of Bhau is a source of disturbance for Hindustan and this threat can not be successfully faced without full support and cooperation of each and every chief. Any one who will hold back from supporting each other would be condemned and cursed. By the grace of God you are one of the great chiefs of Hindustan, now what is the expediency which is preventing you from taking this ultimate cause? If you decide to support Bhau it is likely that he would not give any importance to it as he does not respect the authority and power of others out of pride and conceit. It would be better if you protect yourself from his designs and make an alliance with the chiefs of Hindustan and send a petition to the Emperor expressing your sincerity and devotion. As I can intervene in this affair, I will be able, God willing, to convince His Majesty about your faithfulness and will get a personal letter from him along-

the former's support offering Rs. 50,000 as a daily allowance. For details see *Siyar-ul Muta'akhirin*, 881; *Gulistan-i Rahmat*, ff. 60a b; *Selection from the Peshwa Dafatar*, Vol. XXVI, p. 176; also *Wali-ullah*.

¹ The Ruhelas had seized Awadh territories, Ghazipur, Banaras, Allahabad (except the fort), Lucknow, etc. For details see *Gulistan-i Rahmat*, ff. 60a b; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1879), p. 76; *'Imad-us Sa'adat*, p. 50; *Selections from the Peshwa Dafatar*, II., No. 30: Kewal Ram, *Tilismat-i Khayal*, MS. 'Aligarh, p. 80.

with a written assurance for the concessions which the members of your family, generation after generation will perpetually enjoy. For the support it is not necessary that you come to the Imperial Court after leaving your country, but it will also be a wise policy to strengthen your position and remain at your place and watch the working of the Providence. All other plans seem defective and impracticable for the present and future. Your exalted self is an experienced, wise and far-sighted-man, and therefore, it is useless to say more.

DOCUMENT 'C'

NAJIB-UD DAULAH'S LETTER TO JAWĀHAR SINGH¹

Raja Sahib, the most considerate to his friends, may God preserve him.

Received your kind letter. Your anxiety due to the appearance of the differences and your intention to revenge the past losses² were also brought to knowledge in detail through the despatches of our *vakil*. It is a matter of great surprise that you, with so much understanding and discernment, should have attributed these out-bursts of enmity to this sincere one. God is witness that what happened was decreed by God. It was the great Mahāraja³ who first decided to exterminate the Baluches of Farrukhnagar⁴ who had neither the means nor the strength to oppose him. I wrote to him repeatedly that the renowned persons should desist from the act of oppressions and that by shedding the blood of these innocent peoples⁵ he would not earn a good reputation. If at all they were guilty of some crime, I offered myself to bring them round. The Mahāraja without paying heed to this, collected his army, besieged Farrukhnagar and took the *sardars* prisoners. Even after this I sent *vakils* to get them released but he did not pay any heed to their request in this connection. As Divine Will is different from the human volition, unfortunate grounds were prepared for the ruin of a family and the destruction of an army.

¹ Son and successor of Suraj Mal Jāt.

² It may refer to the battle fought on 25 December, 1763 in which Suraj Mal was killed. For details of the battle and its causes see *Tārikh-i Najib-ud Daulah*, ff. 66a-70b; *Bayan-i Waqt* 305.

³ Suraj Mal Jāt.

⁴ Kamgār Baluch was the first Baluch ruler of Farrukhnagar which is 30 miles south-east of Delhi. His son Musavi Khan was the chief of other Baluch *sardars* namely Taj Muhammad Khan of Bahadurgarh and Asad-Ullah Khan of Taru, in modern Haryana. For causes of the conflict with Najib-ud Daulah and the Baluches see *Tārikh-i Najib-ud Daulah*, ff. 60a-66a.

⁵ For details see, *Tārikh-i Najib-ud Daulah*, ff. 60 a-66a.

Finally, he, thinking me as a faithless friend, advanced against me. I again solicited his favour and tried to please him but he misunderstood me altogether. As a friend I sincerely desired to make friends with him and avoided conflict. Hence, it is advisable that this unpleasant accident should be ascribed to fate and the past relations of friendship should be restored because mutual cooperation will be highly beneficial to both the parties, and a conflict will be disastrous to both of us which will alone serve the interests of our enemies. These forces which you have mobilized should be kept in reserve for chastising the rebels, and not to break the neck of a friend.

We should consider ourselves fortunate that the two main provinces¹ of the Empire are in our hands without any partner. If one of us is ruined, it will automatically lead to the ruin of the other as well. If you agree, I am willing to enter into a treaty with you. If you think otherwise, there is no other alternative; but this will lead to trouble; we both will incur great expenses and much blood will be shed. Taking all the consequences of your policy into consideration, you should better extinguish the fire of wrath by pouring water over it.

DOCUMENT 'D'

HAFIZ RAHMAT KHAN'S LETTER TO NAWAL SINGH²

Raja Sahib, the most considerate to his friends, may God preserve him.

After giving expression to our yearning for the joyous meeting with your gracious self, which is actually beyond expression, it is submitted for your enlightened self that during the period, no letter has been received, and, there, we are anxiously waiting for the receipt of the news of your exalted welfare.³ Although there is no misunderstanding in the realm of spiritual but the discontinuance of correspondence is apparently a source of anxiety. The news of the advance of the Deccan forces under the command of the three sardars⁴ with the design to destroy Hindustan and establish their tyrannical rule might have already reached your good self.⁴ Though I am sure that none of the Chiefs and notables would be careless in taking steps to save the situation or would foment disunity or would be doing nothing relying only on the grace of God. But the great pity is that the sardars of this country are wanting in farsightedness and have increased their mutual discord. If one's house is set on

¹ Delhi and Agra.

² The Jat Chief.

³ Ram Chandra Ganesh, Tako Ji Holkar and Mahadeo ji Sindhia.

⁴ For details of Maratha purpose of the campaign see *Tārikh-i Muzaffari*, II ff. 185 ab; *Miskin*, ff. 76a-77a *Gulistan-i Rahmat*, f. 147a.

fire the other would not express sympathy for him, he would rather be happy on his plight. In the past, when Bhau and Rao had marched into this country¹ with a resolve to drive out each and every one, the Shāh of Wilāyat² engaged himself to face this serious threat; and by bringing all the Indian *sardars* to his submission set himself to save the situation. A careful survey of the present situation shows that each and every family suffered misfortunes and calamities, and no person concerned himself with the affairs of another. As that friend is one of the great nobles, and his exalted family is renowned for power and prestige throughout Hindustan, you should direct your whole attention to check this threat in collaboration with the chiefs of this region. Your efforts in this direction will free the mind from constant dread of invasion by the enemy. The friends must be supported³ for they are in need of money, and because of paucity of resources and excessive expenditures⁴, they are not in a position to collect troops and complete preparations for expedition. For these reasons they cannot prove their friendship. The present difficulties present a real problem, which it is hoped, will be overcome by the grace of God and success achieved in future. In view of the fact that the country held by that friend is in the grip of disastrous disturbances and at the moment revolutionary changes are occurring. It is, therefore, requested that there should be no occasion of complaint in view of sincere relationship existing between us. The rest will be conveyed to you through the letter of Munshi Chitra Bhoj. Nothing more remains to be penned.

DOCUMENT 'E'

NAWAL SINGH'S REPLY TO HAFIZ RAHMAT KHAN

Nawab Sahib, the considerate to his friends, may God preserve him. The receipt of your letter has caused great happiness. Your concern about the imminent march of the Deccanis⁵ and your own anxiety and sincerity in fulfilling the conditions of friendship, as well as your farsightedness and acts of wisdom were reported in detail to me through the letter. My kind Sir, the only way to maintain the ties of friendship and concord is to support the friend in his difficulties. In short, these details were al-

¹ In A. D. 1759

² Ahmad Shah Abdāli.

³ The Ruhelas.

⁴ Dundey Khan's letter to Gallieze, *Foreign Department Secret Committee Proceedings*, 4 June, 1770, 447.

⁵ The Marathas.

ready conveyed to me by my *vakils* in the presence of the Peshwa's *vakil* before the receipt of your letter. It is reported that Srimat Bahadur has despatched Takoji Holkar and Datta Sahib¹ to realize the tribute from Hindustan that has not been paid for the past several years.

Rao Ram Chandra Ganesh has also been sent to accompany them. The above named *sardars* are at the head of a great army and proper equipment have arrived in the neighbourhood of Ujjain and have written to me that this year they intend to conquer Hindustan and all the arrangements are to be made with mutual consultations and, therefore, I should despatch my *vakil* and that they are ready to fix passage for the army in accordance with my wishes. It is likely that the victorious troops will remain encamped in Jaipur for few days. Consequently I have despatched one of my confidants and propose to personally meet the great *sardars* on their arrival. Since this time the great *sardars* have set their objectives beyond the realization of *peshkash*, it is, therefore, being written as a requisite of friendship, that we should be frankly informed of the attitude, friendly or otherwise which that grand (Hafiz Rahmat) and others (Ruhela *sardars*) propose to adopt in regard to the *sardars* of the Deccan so that the interests of the friends may be advanced, as it is our constant endeavour to protect the friends. However, if the chieftains of Hindustan will have any misunderstanding about the Deccani Chiefs, it will be removed before it can prove harmful as we have a firm determination in this affair and we most sincerely wish for the welfare and well-being of the friends. If you entertain any apprehension in revealing your thought, it is most unfortunate. Other particulars of friendship and intimacy will be known through Munshi Chitra Bhuj Das. Hope you would continuously cheer us by sending letters containing the happy news of your welfare. Happy days may always be at your service.

¹ The transcriber has made it Deniel Sahib. It should have been Datta ji Sindhia.

REVIEWS

Mian Muhammad Saeed. *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur: A political and cultural history*, University of Karachi, Karachi, 1972. Pp XXXIX + 380, 2 maps illustrations, Price Rs. 27

THE Sharqī Sultanate of Jaunpur came into existence along with other independent regional Kingdoms and principalities, such as Gujarat, Khandesh, Malwa, Nagaur, Kalpi, etc. after the sack of Delhi by Timur in A.D. 1398. The disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate at this time certainly led to certain changes and developments of social and political significance in North India. The rulers of these regional Kingdoms and principalities vied with one another in developing their regions economically and studded their capital towns with magnificent buildings and gardens. The poets, scholars, scientists, musicians, artists and skilled artisans were invited by the rulers to their capitals and extended large-hearted patronage. As a result, the influence of the imperial cultural tradition of Delhi penetrated far and wide. The kingdoms of Jaunpur and Malwa, being in close proximity to Delhi, were in a more advantageous positions to receive the fugitive scholars, poets, merchants and artisans who survived the destruction of Delhi by Timur. Unlike other regional kingdoms, the Sharqī kingdom of Jaunpur has not attracted the attention of modern scholars. Mian Muhammad Saeed's book fulfils this long-felt need.

Besides a scholarly introduction, discussing the scope of the work and the nature of the sources of information utilized in the preparation of the book, it contains eight chapters and four appendices relating to different aspects. In the first five chapters the author discusses the historical background, the rise of the Sultanate of Jaunpur, the military exploits of the Sharqī rulers from Sulṭān-us-Sharq Malik Sarwar (1394-1399) and his successors and then the decline of the Sharqī power under Sulṭān Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī (A.D. 1458-1505). The last three chapters take up the architectural development, urbanization, cultural and literary progress at the Jaunpur Court as well as the state patronage to scholars, poets, Sufis and educationists. The appendices entitled "The coinage of the Sharqī Sultans," "The Later Sharqīs," "Genealogical Table of the Sharqīs," and "Chronology," also provide useful details.

The book under review is a welcome addition to the historical literature about the 15th century India. The chapters on the reigns of the Sharqī Sulṭāns present for the first time a detailed account of the political developments in the Sharqī kingdom. These chapters are characterized by an

objective analysis of the data available in different medieval sources. Similarly, the chapters on architecture, culture and literature, produced under the patronage of the Sharqī Sulṭāns, are very useful. But it is regrettable that the author has not devoted any space to the administrative organization of the Sharqī Sultanate. The apparent reason for this shortcoming seems to be the absence of any contemporary historical literature. However, this problem can be resolved if the references to the administrative divisions, contained in the *Tārikh-i Muhammadi* of Bihāmad Khāni, *Tārikh-i Mubarak Shāhi* of Yahya Sirhindī and *Waqiat-i Mushtaqī* of Shaikh Rizq ullah Mushtaqī, are pieced together. Shaikh Rizq ullah Mushtaqī provides interesting information about the extensive units, composed of a number of *parganas*, in the Sharqī kingdom and placed under high nobles, in his account of the Lodi nobles who had been posted in the eastern regions to stabilize the Lodi authority. For instance, Shams Khan held the *Shiqq* of Bahraich. *Masnad-i-‘ālī* Mian Muhammad Farmali Kalapahar (cf. *Wāqi’at-i Mushtaqī* ff., 39a-b) destroyed his power in A.D. 1505. Likewise, allusions to the officers at the *pargana* level contained in the Sharqī inscriptions help us in analyzing the administrative machinery at the lower level.

It may also be pointed out that no effort has been made in the work to analyze the contents of literary and religious works available in manuscripts in British as well as Indian and Pakistani libraries. Only the names and biographical details of the scholars have been provided along with the titles of their books on the basis of secondary works. Even the works of Qazi Shihabuddin Daulatabadi and Shaikh Ashraf Jahangir Simnani have not been studied. This literature helps us in analyzing the complex social phenomena. It is interesting to note that political upheavals caused by the disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate helped certain people in acquiring government jobs which were meant for the members of the privileged families. Hence reaction among the members of the privileged families against their entry in the State service. A careful study of the letters and *Malfuzat* of Shaikh Ashraf Jahangir Simnani reveal that the leading Chishti saint had a conservative mentality and was strongly opposed to the recruitment of even educated people belonging to the lower strata of the society: (*Maktūbāt-i Ashrafi*, MS. Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh).

One may also take issue with the author on the point of his overemphasizing the pro-Islam bias of the rulers, although the fact lies otherwise. The Sharqī Sultans seem to have followed a liberal policy towards the Rajput *Zamīndars* with the result that most of the big and powerful Sharqī *Zamīndars* remained attached to the Sharqī cause even after the expulsion of Sulṭān Husain from Bihār in 1506.

M. N. Pearson. *Merchants and rulers in Gujrat: The response to the Portuguese in 16th century.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1976. Pp xii+178, 2 maps. Price not mentioned.

GUJARAT is particularly rich in source material for the 16th and 17th centuries, most of it being in Persian, Portuguese, Dutch and English besides Gujarati. The province has therefore naturally attracted the attention of scholars concerned with Mughal and pre-Mughal history. The Portuguese sources have however, not yet been adequately utilized. Any new work, like the present one, that attempts to use or present information derived from this material is, for this reason alone, most welcome.

Pearson draws the following picture of the commerce of Gujarat. Down to the 15th century, the Gujarat and Arab merchants carried on a generally peaceful trade between the Gujarat ports and the Red Sea as well as with the spice-islands. At the close of the century, Portuguese arrived with 'half religious, half economic' motives, seeking to 'monopolize or control and tax trade.' They indeed came 'close to success.' Pearson's view of the impact of Portuguese commerce largely follows that of Boxer, who argues that no great increase in the volume of sea-borne trade came about as a result of the Portuguese presence; and that Portuguese relations with Indian merchants were on the whole non-antagonistic. According to Pearson the Gujarat merchants could have resisted the Portuguese, with the help of their rulers, instead they submitted after some initial resistance. On the other hand, the rulers, whether the Sultans of Gujarat or the Mughals, remained indifferent and permitted the Portuguese to levy their extortions on their merchant subjects without any show of concern or resentment.

Pearson's main attempt, in this book, has been, first to establish the above thesis as a fact, and, then, to seek the factors behind such a response to the Portuguese challenge.

The main reasons for the ruler's indifference, according to Pearson, were as follows: (a) Though the value of maritime trade was much higher than that of agricultural produce, only 6% of the total revenue of Gujarat was from trade. (b) Agricultural land was of greater importance than ports and trade since it was assigned in *jagirs*. (c) The Portuguese system was 'not so irksome' due to the fact that the port revenues were more crucial to the Portuguese system than any gains to be made by them from the stoppage of the Red Sea Trade. (d) The structure of contemporary society and polity was such that the merchants functioned largely in isolation

from their rulers. According to Pearson, society in Gujarat was divided into various 'horizontal' and 'vertical' sections working autonomously of the state, under their own leaders, in accordance with their own customs.

One key question, however, Pearson never squarely asks, the answer to which in itself would explain so much: suppose the rulers had been sincerely keen to give protection to their merchants, were they in a position to do so? To resist the Portuguese they had to have a naval force superior to that of Portuguese, implying superior shipping, superior artillery and superior seamanship. There is every reason to believe that superiority of this kind could not simply be achieved in view of the relative levels of contemporary Indian and European technology. If this were the case, then resistance of any direct nature on the seas was ruled out whatever be the other aspects of the situation.

One here feels rather sceptical about some of Pearson's arguments in substantiating the causes for the Sultans' alleged indifference to commerce. His calculation of the relative value of trade is certainly based on dubious assumptions. For his estimate of the value of trade, Pearson has mainly relied on figures extracted from the *Mirā't-i Ahmadī* (itself written in 1761). The *Mirāt* does say the figures relate to 1571, but it cites no source, and Pearson suggests no reason why these figures should be accepted as authentic.

The most reliable statistics from the 16th century are given in Abul fazl's *Ā'in-i Akbarī* completed in 1595. Pearson has stated the *Ā'in*'s figure for revenue from the ports as Rs 80,000 and has summarily rejected it as an underestimate. He does not indicate precisely how he arrived at this figure, which is much higher than the stated revenue of the 13 ports of Sorath or Saurashtra (162,628 *Mahmudis*=Rs 65,050). For the *mahals* containing other ports like Cambay, Ghogha (Bandar Ghogha is wrongly read 'Bandar sola' in the statistical tables of Blochmann's ed.) and Gandhar, the *jama'* figure are given in the *Ā'in* separately. If all of this revenue was from customs, the total customs revenue of the Gujarat ports in 1595 could not have exceeded Rs 8,00,000—a far cry from Pearson's figure of Rs 40,00,000 for Sultanate Gujarat.

Whatever be the actual realized at the ports, it cannot be an index of the value of trade, since while the imports were taxed at the ports, the duty on exports was levied not at the ports but at the markets of origin.

Even if the actual revenues from trade were available, one cannot really compare 'the value of trade' or the turn-over with the value of agricultural produce. Only the value added by trade (i.e. let us say the costs of transport and profits of merchants) would be comparable with the agricultural produce in order to judge the relative economic importance of the agriculture and commerce.

One should also remember that international commerce affected land-revenue as well. Crops like cotton, opium, indigo, that were highly rated

in the Mughal revenue system, would certainly have depended greatly on the demand from far off markets. It is, therefore, not obvious why the Sultans' over-riding interest in land-revenue excluded any concern with commerce.

Pearson's study of Gujarat society does not add greatly to our existing knowledge. The use of Portuguese sources, is here minimal. The last two chapters are wholly based on the already known Persian sources and modern works. Even for the Persian sources, Pearson relies on translations, some of which are not very dependable.

Incidentally, one statement, for which one would like to have references, occurs on page 70. It is stated that 'the revenue of Mamluk Egypt has been seriously affected by Portuguese attacks on ships carrying spices from India to Red Sea. ...' No evidence is cited in support of this assertion.

Notwithstanding such criticism, Pearson has written a book which asks some worthwhile questions; and if not all of us can agree with his facts or answers, this is perhaps only to be expected at the present state of our knowledge.

The book is very well printed. The two maps give adequate information, and there is a fairly good detailed bibliography.

SHIREEN Moosvi

History of Medieval Deccan (A.D. 1295-1724), Vol. II. pp. XXX+627+90 art plates. Editor H. K. Sherwani; and Joint Editor P. M. Joshi. Published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh. Price Rs. 110.

THE present Volume is a part of a series of volumes covering the history of the Deccan sponsored by the government of Andhra Pradesh. This is the second volume relating to Medieval Deccan. The first dealt with mainly political and military history; and this Volume is devoted to society and culture.

The volume contains contributions from various scholars reputed in their respective fields. It covers diverse aspects of cultural life of Medieval Deccan including development of language and literature, sufi movements, painting and architecture, epigraphy, calligraphy, coinage, communications and laws.

Naturally, in a cooperative work of this kind the authors have different points of view; and the editor has done well not to try to press them into a single mould. There is, however, a tendency for looking for 'achievements' that could be attributed to the Deccan, rather than a

critical and balanced appraisal of its cultural life. Masud Husain, perhaps not unreasonably, sees the origins of all the main forms of Urdu poetry in the Deccan. Jagdish Mittal emphasizes the influence of the Deccan painting over Rajasthani school, though he recognises the influence of the latter on the Aurangabadi School. Z. A. Desai stresses the individuality of the Deccan Schools architecture and the weakness of Mughal influence. These arguments are of interest, and arouse much speculation in one's mind about regional interaction in the pre-modern period.

K.A. Nizami has a thoughtful chapter on the Deccan mystics bringing out the moral impact of the sufis on the people. Nazir Ahmad's chapter on Persian literature is, as expected, very factual. Paranjpe Shastri points out that Sanskrit literature suffered a decline during this period, with few original contributions. He has perceptive remarks on the growth and cultural impact of Telugu literature. R. Subrahmanyam has an interesting chapter on Vijayanagara architecture, and Nayyem on the postal system.

The Volume is largely free from printing errors; and Prof. H.K. Sherwani's editorship has been impeccable.

RAFI AHMAD ALAVI

E R R A T A

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
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88	15	quite closer	quite close
89	13	scope	little scope
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119	Col 2, last line	9, 75, 72, 909	9, 75, 73, 009
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137	F.N. 1	Badauni	<i>‘Afif (Tārikh-i Firuz Shāhi</i> , Bib. Ind., p. 352)
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1719—1748

ZAHIR UDDIN MALIK

THE LONG and turbulent reign of Muhammad Shah forms an important phase in the history of India during the eighteenth century. It witnessed the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, the establishment of independent regional states and emergence of religious and literary movements of considerable significance.

Dr Malik studies in this work the political, economic and social forces that converged to speed up the process of decline of the Mughal Empire. He examines the precise nature, pace and direction of that process and assesses the changes it effected in government and society at different levels. He focuses attention on the response of different factions of the ruling class to the challenges confronting the Empire. Aspects of social life and cultural development are also examined within the framework of political and economic milieu of the period, and the aims and objectives of the religious revivalism are critically examined.

The author's contention is that the break-up of the Mughal Empire was not the result of a sudden avalanche or eruption but a gradual process that had set in long before Muhammad Shah's accession to the throne; it was not due to one single determining factor or personal failings of a king or noble, but to a complex interaction of causes—political, military, economic and social.

The book thus offers a persuasive account of the events that led to the ruin of the Mughal Empire and created the circumstances favourable to the ultimate conquest of India by the English East India Company.

Futuhu's Salatin or Shah Namah-i Hind of 'Isami

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AGHA MAHDI HUSAIN

FUTUHU'S SALATIN is a Persian metrical account of the history of Muslim conquerors and rulers of India from the Ghaznavids time to about A.D. 1350. The author's grandfather, Malik Izzud-Din Isami, was a prominent noble under Sultan Balban. When Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq moved to Daulatabad, the Malik, then ninety years old, was also ordered to proceed to the Deccan. He died on the way but his grandson reached Daulatabad with feelings of bitterness towards the Sultan. When Sultan Ala'ud-Din Bahman Shah proclaimed his independence in the Deccan, Isami joined his Court and at the instance of his new patron composed this history in five months.

The Persian text, edited by Dr Agha Mahdi Husain, was published in 1938 and another edition by A S Usha in 1948.

Dr Agha Mahdi Husain has not only translated this important source of early medieval Indian history but has also written a commentary which will be found extremely useful for students and general readers alike.